

# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

*Dedicated to Science and Study of Rural Life*

Volume 14, 1940

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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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## RURAL SOCIOLOGY COMING OF AGE\*

by Otis Durant Duncan†

### ABSTRACT

This paper outlines the emergence of rural sociology as a science, sketching briefly its backgrounds and pointing out some of the obstacles which confronted it along with other sciences. The discussion relates rural sociology to the early developments in the philosophies and methodological conceptions of science. From this point, the account turns to the work of Charles Josiah Galpin at the University of Wisconsin. The narrative includes a sketch of the development of three major schools of rural sociology—the "Wisconsin School," "the Cornell School," and the "Minnesota-Harvard School." Then there is a discussion of some of the problems of modern rural sociological research, emphasizing areas of neglected and new subject matter for future study. The paper closes with a renewed appeal for objectivity to the end of achieving a more rationalistic logico-experimental science for the future than has existed in the past, while maintaining objectivity as the servant of human understanding rather than allowing it to become the master of human reason.

### INTRODUCTION

This paper outlines the emergence of rural sociology more as a science than as a philosophy of life or as a medium of social reform. It proposes to interrelate the growth of this science to others which have contributed to it. It emphasizes little the theological or the metaphysical aspects of the field, in the Comtian sense. It stresses the empirical and the experimental phases of the growth of the science as an area of inquiry. The motive behind this is that such an approach may lead some day to improved methods of searching for new knowledge and to increasingly critical interpretations of observed social phenomena in rural life.

All sciences have had precarious beginnings, rural sociology no more and no less than the others. That is because, if Pearson is correct, "... the

material of science is coextensive with the whole of life . . . and our perceptions of the universe at any given time are but partial."<sup>1</sup> Also, the tools with which man looks at any part of the universe are always less sensitive than they will be at any given date, say a hundred years hence. In their beginnings, most sciences lacked specialization and were overshadowed by all-inclusive conceptions of the universe and the human relationships in it.

The Greco-Roman world had begun to differentiate areas of inquiry at the dawn of the Christian Era. However, the advent of Christianity gave ecclesiasticism a new hold which could not be broken until about 1,500 years had elapsed. Prior to the fourteenth century, nearly everything written on rural life was either a pastime of patricians and monks trying to soothe their consciences for imposing slavery upon the tillers of the soil, or of peasants trying to anesthetize their agonies until relieved by death. Since that time, writing about rural life has been a source of rationalization for emigrés from the land who have fled one form of misery only to find another, neither

\*Presidential address read at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Stillwater, Okla., Sept. 4-6, 1953. The author is indebted to his two fiercest and most helpful critics—Otis Dudley Duncan, his son, and William H. Sewell, his former associate and long-time friend—for innumerable suggestions and emendations.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Pearson, *The Grammar of Science* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911), p. 14.

of which they quite understand. To achieve an objective analysis of rural life and its influence upon men is a laborious work which has been shared thus far by but few.

#### BEGINNINGS OF OBJECTIVITY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Objective sociology, particularly rural sociology, Sorokin says, began with the Arabian historian Ibn-Khaldun (1332-1406), who, being also the father of modern historiography, applied historiographic techniques to comparative analyses of rural and urban life. He pointed out certain correlations of habitat, diet, mobility, occupations, and the like with health, family stability, and the growth of social institutions.<sup>2</sup> Barnes and Becker agree with the substance of this, but make no reference to rural sociology, apparently never having informed themselves about the matter. Ibn-Khaldun was unheard of in America prior to 1925, and even now his writings are hard to find in most university libraries.

Between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the growth of rural sociology was by chance and, as before, always incidental to history or some other field. While the influence of Giovanni Battista Vico, through his *Scienza Nuova*, was widespread and provocative of objective inquiry in all fields, its direct impact upon rural sociology was small. Vico set in motion on the continent of Europe a ripple which continued through Condorcet, Montesquieu, and Saint-Simon to Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the nominal father of sociology.

In England, John Graunt (1620-1674)

<sup>2</sup> See Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (3 vols.; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930), Vol. I, p. 54; also see Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (2 vols.; Boston and New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934), Vol. I, pp. 277-279.

founded a school known as the Political Arithmeticians, when, in 1662, he published his *Observations on Bills of Mortality*. Graunt and his disciple, William Petty, constructed the first life-table for London, and developed the thesis that certain population phenomena are regular—that usually urban death rates are higher than rural death rates, that the highest mortality rates are in the early and the late ages of life, and that, while males outnumber females at birth, females about equal males in the general population.<sup>3</sup> Graunt was also the father of modern statistics. His work in England was supported and modified by William Petty (1623-1687), Edmund Halley (1656-1742), Gregory King (1648-1712), and many others. He had supporters in France and later in Germany. Johann Peter Süsmilch (1707-1767) introduced Graunt's method into Berlin. He contended that urban children died in larger proportions than rural children because they have weaker parents, because urban mothers are inclined to employ wet nurses for the children, and because urban people are given to venery, alcoholism, and other destructive habits.<sup>4</sup> Besides its contributions to methodology, this school set up numerous problems which have stood as challenges to workers in all succeeding generations.

The Belgians, early successors of the Political Arithmeticians and contemporaries of Auguste Comte, cannot be overlooked. They did not specialize in

<sup>3</sup> Graunt's studies are reported in his book, the original title of which is *Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a Following Index and Made upon the Bills of Mortality* (London: Theo. Roycroft, 1662). The book has been reprinted as John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations Made upon the Bills of Mortality* (Walter F. Willcox, ed.; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939).

<sup>4</sup> Süsmilch's work is summarized in Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 109-112.

theories of rural society, but in statistical measurements, population problems, and family budgets. Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874) exerted a marked influence upon the development of census techniques, having assisted in the preparation of censuses in both Belgium and Holland. He developed the "Quet" unit of measurement of food consumption. This scale has served as a point of departure for several others appearing later. He was a teacher of Ernst Engel (1821-1896), who developed the familiar Engel's Law of Food, which has been extensively modified, applied, and abused in other countries. Among his disciples was P. F. Verhulst, who laid the foundation of the "Logistic Law" of population growth which Raymond Pearl exploited intensively in this country.<sup>5</sup>

Also contemporary with the Belgians and Comte was Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882). Educated as a mining engineer, Le Play tramped over a large part of Eurasia and came in contact with family life under an untold variety of conditions. He is best known for his six-volume work, *Les Ouvriers Européens*, for his theory of the family, and for being the father of the school of social reform which still exists and is known as the Le Play School. Le Play's monographic method, sometimes called the "case-study method," or the "participant-observer method," has had wide application. He conceived family well-being in terms of the total society, and also interpreted society as a product of the family. He stated that where people lived, their occupations, their natural environments, their social institutions, and their laws, customs, religion, and government determined how they lived. He is probably the most distinctive writer in history, in that he consistently explained any social phenomenon in

relation to the total situation in which it existed.<sup>6</sup>

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) gave the emerging social sciences some basis of kinship and methodological unity in his logical system. Mill's theory of induction has influenced every writer of importance who has lived since his time and who has endeavored to explain scientific interconnections. He formulated five experimental methods and five canons or tests of evidence which have never been surpassed for clarity and objectivity. However, Mill became hopelessly confused and lost when he tried to explain error, which he could not understand except as erroneous opinions, fallacies of moral judgment, and the like. He wound up his discussion of error with a dismal attempt to interpret fallacy.<sup>6</sup>

Mill's apperceptive base, or his limited view of the universe, did not allow him to see the meaning of error in scientific investigation. However, W. Stanley Jevons (1835-1882) became his interpreter. Jevons understood both the mathematics and the practical applications of error. To him, "One of the most remarkable achievements of the human intellect is the establishment of a general theory which enables us, among discrepant results, to approximate the 'truth' and also to assign the degree of probability which may be attached to this conclusion." He observed that mathematicians were agreed that among discrepant observations, "... that mean quantity is probably the best approximation to the

<sup>5</sup> Le Play's works are numerous. The following are those which have the greatest significance for sociology; all of these were published at Tours by Alfred Mame et Fils: *L'Organisation du travail* (1870); *L'Organisation de la famille* (1875); *Les Ouvriers Européens* (6 vols.; 1879); and *La Constitution de l'humanité* (1885).

<sup>6</sup> See John Stuart Mill, *A System of Logic* (8th ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1890), chaps. VIII and IX, et passim. Practically all of Book V is devoted to this problem.

truth which gives the least possible sum of the squares of the errors."<sup>7</sup>

Jevons then states the law that, with numerous observations, error tends to form a simple frequency distribution curve which is mathematically computable, that extreme errors will be rare, and that positive and negative errors tend to cancel each other. Thus, he introduces the basis for the principle of successive approximation in experimentation, and finds a way out when different measurements of the same thing do not agree. He removes from science the forbidding cloak of exactness behind which chemistry, mathematics, and physics have hidden for centuries, and makes it a possible human achievement. By this principle, exact values are calculable and imputable beyond the reaches of direct sensory experience. It is here that folk knowledge and science make their most abrupt parting of the ways.

Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) was probably the first sociologist to explain how it is possible and necessary to treat facts as things. In an oversimplified form, this means that algebraic symbols, and hence statistical treatments, can be used to stand for relationships as well as for tangible things like people or bricks. Few sociologists, and fewer rural sociologists, understood what this meant until Durkheim explained it in their own language.<sup>8</sup> It is still not clear to all. Yet, it is what is done when attributes are marshalled into indexes and scales.

<sup>7</sup> See W. Stanley Jevons, *The Principles of Science: A Treatise on Logic and Scientific Method* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1913), pp. 374, *et passim*. The 1913 printing is a corrected reprint of the 1900 printing.

<sup>8</sup> Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method* (trans. by Sara A. Solvay and John H. Mueller, and ed. by George E. C. Catlin; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 14. This book was first published in 1895 as *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*.

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) taught sociologists the meaning of logico-experimental science.<sup>9</sup> It consists of (1) definition and design of a problem within the framework of logical organization, (2) factual observation devoid of all possible preconception and speculation, and (3) manipulation of the observed data in as many ways as possible to discover under what circumstances a particular relationship between phenomena occurs or exists. Actually, however, logico-experimental science is not amenable to an *ex cathedra* verbal definition, because by its nature it is functional and operational.

According to Pareto, in logico-experimental—as opposed to non-logico-experimental—theories, there are certain general propositions from which principles are logically deduced. They are abstract propositions in which are condensed the common characteristics of numerous facts; the characteristics depend upon facts, not the reverse. In non-logico-experimental theories there are scattered principles admitted *a priori* independently of the experience which dominates them, and they do not depend upon facts. They are accepted without disturbing the facts, unless the facts happen to agree with the deductions.

Pareto lays down several qualifications of logico-experimental science. First, the language must be as precise intrinsically as possible. Second, all discussion is in vain, if terms used do not actually name the real relations and qualities of things. Third, logico-experimental science treats of things designated by names, not of names by things. Fourth, one must recognize that names have no influence upon the

<sup>9</sup> Caution: This is not to become embroiled in popular debate—i.e., popular among social theorists inspired mostly by secondary sources—on whether or not Durkheim and Pareto were merely parodists of Toennies and of each other. The writer sees no such relationships, and has no wish to proliferate such nonsense.

behavior or qualities of things. Fifth, logico-experimental science perceives things objectively; names are arbitrary. Sixth, logico-experimental science leads to the perfection of quantitative methods, tending to separate analysis from synthesis, whereas non-logico-experimental reasoning confounds them. Thus, both substantively and operationally, or from simple names to complex analytical processes, Pareto conceived of an objective unity in logico-experimental science.<sup>10</sup>

Commenting on the language of science, Morris says,

Scientific discourse, or language, is a specialization of our common language for the purpose of obtaining accuracy in prediction, and the demand for adequacy in prediction controls the characteristic features of that language. The scientific habit of mind would be the habit of mind of accepting statements of the type which are admitted into scientific discourse. And scientific procedures would be those procedures that are used in getting such statements. So, while we start from a linguistic basis, we can characterize the scientific habit of mind or scientific procedure in terms of this type of discourse.<sup>11</sup>

In other words, science, the scientific habit of mind, and scientific procedure are all dependent upon and largely determined by the language employed in inquiry. Language conveys knowledge when, as Pareto says, it is dependent upon a fact or thing, and not the opposite.

#### SCHOOLS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Scientists often emerge in a field long before it is regarded as a science. Such figures appeared in the Middle

Ages, as was mentioned earlier. Charles Josiah Galpin (1864-1947) was such a personage. Often, too, a science may exist in substance for a long time before it has a name. Rural sociology was a fact before Galpin's time. There had been academic courses and university teachers in the field, probably twenty years before.<sup>12</sup> Also, he was preceded by writers whose work had rural sociological import. However, prior to Galpin's *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, published in 1915, no such thing as a school of rural sociology was in existence. This study was followed by the publication, in 1918, of W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, a monograph of considerable methodological value in the early days of formal rural sociology.

Galpin's contributions to rural sociology, while immeasurable, include four things of prophetic import. *First*, his community study was the earliest of its kind, and it led the way to the incorporation of rural sociology within the confines of the Purnell Act of 1925. *Second*, his thesis of the decline of "the man with the hoe" outdistanced a large segment of rural sociologists and other writers who, with Robert Burns, still see visions of "The Cottar's Saturday Night," and dream of a Utopian peasantry in an atomic age. *Third*, his "rurban" concept antedated by a generation an appreciation of a form of social organization with which all rural sociologists must become acquainted soon. *Fourth*, Galpin's studies of rural-urban migration, following the work

<sup>10</sup> All references to Pareto's theory pertain to his *Traite de Sociologie Generale*, Vol. I (Lausanne & Paris: Librairie Payot & Cie., 1917). This work was published in Italian in 1916, in French in 1917, and in English, as *Mind and Society*, in 1935.

<sup>11</sup> Charles W. Morris, "Science and Discourse," in *Science, Its History, Philosophy and Relation to Democracy* (ten lectures, Graduate School, USDA; Washington, 1939, mimeographed), p. 163.

<sup>12</sup> Carl C. Taylor informed the writer, after hearing this paper read, that in his student days (around 1911 or 1912) he knew of the existence of no course, book, or monograph devoted primarily to the analysis of rural society. When Carl Taylor does not know about a book on rural life, especially in modern literature, it is probably a collector's item, if indeed it exists.



of E. J. Ravenstein, Georg Hansen, Otto Ammon, the Livis, A. F. Weber, and many others, stimulated younger men in America twenty-five years ago to explore this important problem to the limits of their ranges of comprehension.

Galpin went to the University of Wisconsin in 1911. There he occupied an intermediate position. With H. C. Taylor and B. H. Hibbard on his right hand and E. A. Ross and John L. Gillin on his left, Galpin was destined to a career characterized by zeal and imagination. From this association also came two young Ph.D.'s—William Edward Garnett in 1920, and John Harrison Kolb in 1921. These students were nurtured on Taylor's thesis that men and land, other things being equal, tend to associate together in manners suggestive of the inherent qualities of each, in the long run. Ross, of course, tried to make them think that the supreme weakness of the human race is a perfidious tendency to breed itself to death. Fortunately, Garnett and Kolb gave about the same credence to those ideas as did their own graduate students, and theirs since. Even Taylor thought that a graduate student who could read what Ross wrote and pass an examination on his theories should be failed.<sup>13</sup>

In 1919, Galpin joined Taylor in the Office of Farm Management (later to become the Bureau of Agricultural Economics) in the United States Department of Agriculture. Under Taylor's sponsorship, Galpin founded the

Division of Farm Life Studies,<sup>14</sup> now known as the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

The second agricultural economics department to shelter rural sociology was at Cornell University. George F. Warren, after having been an assistant professor of most of the fields in agriculture since 1906, and for ten years professor of farm management, became professor of agricultural economics and farm management at Cornell in 1919. Undoubtedly Warren was a major factor in attracting back to Cornell an 1898 graduate of the institution, Ezra Dwight Sanderson. Sanderson had been first a nationally recognized entomologist (whose books entomology students still use as reference sources) and second, dean of agriculture and director of the Experiment Station at the University of West Virginia. In 1917, Sanderson joined the Cornell staff as professor of rural sociology, having renounced his bugs and administrative duties. As yet, he had not re-

<sup>14</sup> An editorial critic has objected, "I think it is incorrect and unjustified to credit Galpin with founding the Division of Farm Life Studies, although he was, of course, its first head." Certainly, the creation of that division was the work of more minds than that of Galpin. The initial idea of it seems to have been Taylor's primarily. Taylor induced Secretary of Agriculture David F. Houston to call a conference of prominent persons to outline the field of a proposed division to study rural life problems. The conference was held in the spring of 1919, with Thomas Nixon Carver as its chairman. As an outcome of the conference a recommendation was made that such a division be created in the Office of Farm Management and that it be called "Farm Life Studies," and as such it was known for a while. It was in May of that year that Taylor employed Galpin to be head of the new division. Cf. Charles Josiah Galpin, *My Drift into Rural Sociology* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1938), pp. 34-36. If one reads Galpin's own story and corroborates it with Taylor's personal testimony, the academic esotericism about who was the founder becomes vapid.

<sup>13</sup> This is, of course, of only anecdotal importance, but it should interest rural sociologists to hear from Taylor's own lips how sharply the different thought-currents in the early period of American social science were defined, and with what ferocity they were breathed from one opponent to another. The conversation in which Taylor made this statement occurred on Dec. 8, 1938, at Texarkana, Ark.-Tex.



ceived a Ph.D. in anything. Very shortly, he went to the University of Chicago to make a sociologist of himself, receiving his doctorate in 1921. His degree seems to have been in general sociology; his rural background was rich enough already.

Warren, too, was disturbed by population shifts. He probably had read Weber's *The Growth of Cities*, he knew the fallacies of Taylor's man-land theory, and he had doubts about the speculations of Ross. Besides, he knew well the writings of his colleague, H. J. Davenport, the clearest thinker as an economic theorist in human history. Adopting Davenport's pragmatism, he said that, since there were too many people on the land in the first place, the urbanward migration must continue. Logically, then, he opposed any nostrum designed to reduce American farmers to peasantry, or to bare subsistence. He branded the "Back-to-the-Land" slogan as a conspiracy of big cities wanting to dump their paupers and worn-out prostitutes into the laps of the farmers.<sup>15</sup> He knew all this without proving it, but he wanted proofs for it.

Accordingly, in 1909, Warren conducted a study of living costs in Livingston County, New York, interviewing 106 farm families. He procured the services of a young man, Ellis Lore Kirkpatrick, for a restudy of the area. Kirkpatrick, during 1920-1921, interviewed 295 farm-owner and 107 farm-tenant families. Using part of this work for his thesis, Kirkpatrick achieved the Ph.D. degree at Cornell in 1922.<sup>16</sup> This was the first Ph.D. de-

gree which that institution granted in rural sociology as such, and one of the first such degrees in the nation. However, several years ahead of this, while they were students at other universities, Newell L. Sims, Warren H. Wilson, Eben Mumford, John M. Gillette, James M. Williams, and Carl C. Taylor—in addition to Garnett, Kolb, and Sanderson—had studied whatever sociology they could find and had given it rural slants.

About this time (1918), John D. Black became assistant professor of agricultural economics at the University of Minnesota, and, in 1921, professor and chief of the division. He allied himself with F. Stuart Chapin, who became chairman of the sociology department there in 1922. L. L. Bernard held a position on the Minnesota sociology staff from 1917 to 1925. P. A. Sorokin joined them in 1924. In general economics, the group was supported by F. B. Garver in economic theory, Alvin H. Hansen in labor problems and business cycles, and N. S. B. Gras in economic history. By 1925 or 1926, Minnesota had produced a number of Ph.D.'s in sociology, including Charles R. Hoffer and Carle C. Zimmerman. Zimmerman spent his first five post-doctoral years as a colleague of the Minnesota professors.

Scarcely was the original Minnesota group formed when its dissolution began. Bernard left in 1925, Gras and Black in 1927, Sorokin in 1930, Zimmerman in 1931, and Hansen in 1937. With the exception of Bernard, the migrating part of the group settled at Harvard University, almost in a body, leaving Chapin and Garver to end their university careers at Minnesota. For some years, Minnesota and Har-

<sup>15</sup> See G. F. Warren, *Farm Management* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1913), pp. 29-36.

<sup>16</sup> Kirkpatrick's study was published as *The Standard of Living in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming*, Cornell Univ. AES Bull. No. 423 (Ithaca, N. Y., 1923). For a summary of the earlier study, see George F. Warren, *Farm Management* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1913), p. 24;

or Faith M. Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Studies of Farm Family Living in the United States and Other Countries*, USDA Misc. Pub. No. 223 (Washington, D. C.: Gov't Print. Office, 1935), Entries 13, 21.

vard students were interchangeable, and referred to themselves as the "Minnesota-Harvard group."

This resumé gives the barest sketch of the origins of the major "schools" of rural sociology. They have furnished the greater proportion of the staffs of lesser colleges, as Purnell research spread into the hinterland, and as public demand for services of rural sociologists grew with depressions and wars. While many rural sociologists did not pursue graduate study at any one of these schools, those coming from elsewhere have exhibited a tendency either to join one of these schools or to ally themselves with one or more of them in productive work.

As satellite schools arise, students from all the parent groups come together, not always in the completest harmony, to pool their resources in new efforts. They have what their predecessors lacked, at least an orientation toward sociological concepts related to rural society. Also, increasing numbers of recruits are coming from undergraduate schools of agriculture where they have had opportunities to go through elementary courses in scientific agriculture along with their fundamental training in rural sociology. That was not possible in many places until a few years ago, when the agricultural colleges began placing rural sociology courses within their curricula. Even since such courses have been allowed, it has taken a long time in land-grant colleges for the professors of rural sociology to penetrate the traditional well-entrenched course in agriculture, first conceived in the 1880's. Some of these colleges have been cordial to the idea of making room on class schedules for rural sociology, while others almost doubt its existence.

While the younger rural sociologists have had opportunities for superior preparation in mathematics and statistics, research methodology, agricultural

subjects, and basic rural sociological theory, they are inclined to neglect mathematics and some other essential training to a damaging extent. Their familiarity with history, economic and human geography, cultural anthropology, and psychology is often distressingly inadequate. It is rare that a young Ph.D. in rural sociology can read intelligibly a line in any foreign language and equally unusual to find one who can write an English sentence expressing clearly a simple idea. These are weaknesses which need to be overcome, if future rural sociology is to hold its own as a science.

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE

A new science, in its emergence, follows the path of evolution of any idea. In the case of rural sociology, as well as of other sciences, there has been a varied growth pattern. Sometimes its proofs have lagged behind its claims. It has been a most hortative science. At one stage of its existence, there was an effort to develop a peculiar kind of sociology for rural people, under the illusion that they are a law unto themselves and cannot be accounted for as are other social groups. It took a long time to discover that rural sociology is nothing but sociology employing data about rural people and their social behavior. In fact, this is not fully appreciated, even in 1953, by all rural sociologists themselves. That is why it is necessary to spend time trying to relate the field to the development of social science in general.

Operating on the basis of a rational conception rather than of a belief in a miraculous inspiration, or of commands by generals and gods, the rural sociologist must design working tools for his trade. That is why he should go back to the common core of all science, for a beginning. Karl Pearson has said rightly that the unity of all science is method. The elements of science are the same, whether in the

chemistry laboratory or in that of the rural sociologist. Units may differ in size and complexity; measuring instruments may differ in sensitivity; and data may vary in degrees of inertia; but method, or control of observation, characterizes investigation in one field the same as in another. It is time that rural sociologists realized this, both as a substantive truth and as an imperative necessity. Hence, they should shrink in the presence of no one, and should require the same respect which they accord their colleagues in other fields. Because this is a fact, it is now not uncommon to find biologists, chemists, agronomists, geneticists, and sociologists sitting together in a room studying one and the same scientific method to be applied in all their respective fields. This is to insist that science is a composite term denoting the complex division of labor necessary for the study of data of the total universe.

Statistics forms one of the main connecting links between rural sociology and all other fields of science. While the Political Arithmeticians began the statistical study of rural sociological problems, it was the discovery of the work of Mendel in genetics which provided the second impetus to its use. The third stimulus came when the Purnell Act of 1925 placed rural sociology in a competitive position with other agricultural sciences. Prior to 1925, and for some years afterward, there was little effort to design statistics books specifically for sociological analysis other than in the field of population. In later years, White, McCormick, and Hagood have produced such books.

Besides the books on statistics, there have appeared a number on research methods. These began with Durkheim's *Rules of Sociological Method*, published in 1895. Chapin published, in 1920, one of the earliest American books on

methods of social research.<sup>17</sup> While there were several such books by this time, few of them gained widespread popularity. Since 1920, treatments of research methodology have become both numerous and specialized. In fact, methodology has about become a distinct discipline, or an end in itself, to many people.

The significance of this emphasis on statistics and methods is that these serve to make rural sociologists conscious of the urgent need for refinement in their investigations. At best, units of measurement used in all fields of sociology are crude. To be meaningful, they must be refined continually.

Logico-experimental rural sociology gained research opportunities, some methodological stimulus, and a not inconsiderable amount of sheer inspiration through its early contacts with agricultural economics. Likewise, it has picked up from psychology some suggestions for standardizing its measurements. It has learned something from sociometry in regard to ideational representation of social behavior patterns. Most important of all, rural sociology is learning to use the basic tools of science independently rather than merely imitating other social and physical sciences. This skill has been hard to learn, but it is the most essential step toward actual creative work. The well-known Sewell Scale, developed at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1937-1939, is a case in point. Recently Belcher and Sharp have suggested some modifications for this scale.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, Charles P.

<sup>17</sup> F. Stuart Chapin, *Field Work and Social Research* (New York: The Century Co., 1920). Chapin cites practically nothing of a strictly methodological nature which appeared before 1912.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. John C. Belcher and Emmit F. Sharp, *A Short Scale for Measuring Farm Family Level of Living: A Modification of Sewell's Socio-Economic Scale*, Okla. AES Bull. T-46 (Stillwater: Okla. Agr. Expt. Sta., Sept., 1952).

Loomis and Allan Beegle have been at work on scales for measuring aspects of social status and relationships other than the economic. Only a few years ago, the analysis of variance and other new departures in statistics became popular with rural sociologists. The chi-square test has extended the possibilities for testing and verification of rural sociological evidence.

The atomic clock, now used to date archaeological specimens and in the promotion of understandings in cultural anthropology, or some comparable device, may come to the aid of the rural sociologist in the future. The IBM card and other rapid calculation devices have taken much of the pencil work out of social research, as well as out of modern business. Perhaps some day the electric eye, the vacuum tube, or the photoelectric cell may eliminate some of the guesswork which now bedevils the rural sociologists.

Undoubtedly such urban culture traits as radio, aviation, television, electric-power-driven machines, and advanced formal education will divest rural life of some of its random spontaneity in the future and tend to channelize it through more regular behavior patterns. This can only render it more amenable to study and to predictive techniques. Some of its distinctive aura will disappear as that happens, but it will open doors now closed to research, if only the rural sociologist can see them.

There are other techniques which have great future promise. Margaret Hagood, B. O. Williams, and others have popularized the use of indexes based on factor analysis. These are valuable in the standardization of historical data. Zimmerman and DuWors are developing a new technique for studying regional sociology, and there is nothing needed more urgently. It is hoped that the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, which has been reported

in parts already, will produce suggestive techniques in a number of fields.

As badly needed as techniques is the stimulation of interest in neglected areas of study. In 1949, a paper presented at the New York meeting of this society outlined a number of projects on rural sociological research in the Wheat Belt.<sup>19</sup> This outline suggests a variety of problems which have been studied only casually, if at all.

Few studies of the farm family have the characteristic of thoroughness comparable with that of Zimmerman and Frampton in Arkansas.<sup>20</sup> However, the family has been the subject of several studies in recent months. These studies deal with patterns of authority and of participation, but are somewhat more given to description of external traits than to interpretation of the deeper-rooted values of farm family life.<sup>21</sup>

There has been too little study of the social effects of farm mechanization. Hamilton and McMillan have shown that mechanization has a weighty impact upon the human factor

<sup>19</sup> See Otis Durant Duncan and Emmit Frederick Sharp, "Rural Sociological Research in the Wheat Belt," *Rural Sociology*, XV:4 (Dec., 1950), pp. 339-351.

<sup>20</sup> Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, *Family and Society* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1935), Part III.

<sup>21</sup> See W. A. Anderson, *Rural Social Participation and the Family Life Cycle: Part I, Formal Participation*, Cornell Univ. AES Memoir 314 (Ithaca, N. Y., Jan., 1953); and Part II, *Informal Participation*, Cornell Univ. AES Memoir 316 (Ithaca, N. Y., Jan., 1953). Also, James S. Brown, *The Family Group in a Kentucky Mountain Farming Community*, Ky. AES Bull. 588 (Lexington, June, 1952), and *The Farm Family in a Kentucky Mountain Neighborhood*, Ky. AES Bull. 587 (Lexington, Aug., 1952); and Paul H. Landis and Carol L. Stone, *The Relationship of Parental Authority Patterns to Teenage Adjustments*, Wash. AES Bull. 538 (Pullman, Sept., 1952).

in agriculture.<sup>22</sup> However, there have been no important studies of the dislocations in rural life incident to mechanical advancement in farm production. Technological change having reached a great speed, existing studies are now out of focus with the real problem. Changes in human requirements in agriculture have jarred out of place most of everything previously known about the farm family, rural education, rural religious organization, rural health, and social participation in rural areas. Not since the invention of the wheel has anything struck farm life with a greater force than rural electrification. Yet, it is taken for granted.

The social psychology of rural life is an area which has been neglected for so long that it will soon be unnecessary to bother with it. The worthwhile work done in this field could be summarized in a few short paragraphs. Introspection, reminiscence, and nostalgic reveries comprise the primary essence of the rest. Subjective, inaccurate, lacking in substance, and often self-contradictory, it is more specious and confusing than revealing. There have been a few attitudinal or speech reaction studies, but little has come of them. Particularly, there has been no definitive study of changes in basic rural thinking habits and values as affected by technological changes, and none of intercommunication and social interaction. The studies in this area center around population structure and labor potentials. There are hay presses now which can bale ten tons of hay

per hour, and harvesting machinery capable of covering five acres per hour. Yet, no one seems alarmed by the influence of these and like machines upon the spiritual, emotional, and intellectual lives of farmers.

The field of rural-urban interaction almost dominated early rural sociology. Then came a serious decline of interest in the matter. By 1942, one had to apologize for writing about it. At present, this is an area of paramount importance. Farm and urban communities now exist only in a Galpinian "rurban" sense. A new study in Kentucky shows that a majority of the special-interest organizations in which country people participate are located in towns.<sup>23</sup> This study shows also that country people lag behind those of towns in organized activities. It might have shown, too, that country people are rapidly transferring their educational, religious, health, recreational, and welfare activities to the towns. At any rate, new problems of adjustment await both country and town people as they find themselves more and more inextricably harnessed together in social and economic life.

Besides these, there will be innumerable problems of public administration to study in future years. How to provide fire protection, building codes, library service, health care, sanitary codes, etc., for rural areas will require investigation. The movement of the urban-employed to the country for residence has created new problems already, particularly in regard to schools and roads. This seems likely to cause more trouble in the future. Some day rural sociologists will realize that they must study this matter, if they are to help in solving the related problems.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. C. Horace Hamilton, "The Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture," *Rural Sociology*, IV:1 (Mar., 1939), pp. 3-19; also, *The Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture*, Tex. AES Progress Report No. 579 (College Station, Dec., 1938); and Robert T. McMillan, *Social Aspects of Farm Mechanization in Oklahoma*, Okla. AES Bull. B-339 (Stillwater, Nov., 1949).

<sup>23</sup> See Joseph Gilbert Hardee and Ward W. Bauder, *Town-Country Relations in Special-Interest Organizations, Four Selected Kentucky Counties*, Ky. AES Bull. 586 (Lexington, June, 1952), pp. 34-35.



## CONCLUSION

As Carl Taylor has urged for a generation, there are sides to the study of rural life which one cannot reduce to regression equations and coefficients of correlation. Other techniques must be employed to understand them. One such technique is Le Play's "participant-observer" method, in which the investigator lives with his respondents and shares their fare. Moreover, the rural sociologist must never tire of learning about the productive and husbandry practices on the farm, for both plants and animals. There is something in rural life which must be lived to be learned, if one wants to understand the emotions and values which motivate life there. Particularly, the

rural sociologist must be able to see and to feel the great crises of rural life, to understand them. Marriage, birth, death, fires, floods, tornadoes, droughts, and pestilence are personal things to farmers, and not simply data in a census volume.

While the thesis of this paper is a plea for objectivity, and even scorn for anything else, it is necessary to warn against the delusion that it can be reached in a Nietzschean Zarathustra. A *thought-power* god is antithetical to the spirit of inquiry, and is destructive to the human intellect itself, which cannot long endure such artificiality. This plea for objectivity is, therefore, one for simple truth as a servant of better understanding, and not as a master of human reason.



## CAN WE EXPORT "THE NEW RURAL SOCIETY"?\*

by Paul S. Taylor†

### ABSTRACT

Using the Artibonite Valley project in Haiti as an example, this paper raises the question whether the American "New Rural Society" is as exportable as American technology, on which the project is based. The project is designed to double agricultural production in the area, but there seems no assurance that this will be translated into improved conditions for all the people.

The Valley is densely populated, the people are illiterate, and the farms are extremely small. Agriculture is almost the sole occupation and methods are primitive. Yet the society is characterized by security, equality, classlessness, and owner-operation of the land. With a rise in productivity, land will become attractive for investment. The more thrifty peasants and people in the towns may buy up the land, institute machine methods, and transform the small owners into landless tenants, wage laborers, and "surplus." Prospects for industrial employment in Haiti to absorb the surplus population are poor, and immigration possibilities are very limited.

Another prospect is the excessive subdivision of holdings through inheritance, which may take place simultaneously with land agglomeration. The enactment of legal minima and maxima in landholdings is a possibility. A minimum limitation seems unlikely to be accepted or to have the desired effect. A maximum limitation seems needed and may help somewhat with both problems.

Our starting point is the assumption that in the United States we have, or are in process of developing, a "New Rural Society"—one that, whatever the pangs of its birth, has solid human values that combine the best of the old with the high promise of the new. However defined, the new rural society has security and a higher standard of living as at least a part of its values.

Most of the people on this planet live under rural conditions, and have done so since before the dawn of history. But recently, it seems, the conditions have become unbearable. At any rate the present generation of cultivators of, say, Asia, seems unwilling to bear

them much longer. The conditions have changed, or the cultivators' attitudes have changed, or both. The idea is abroad that a better manner of living is possible than the one they know. They want someone to show them a way out, and look to us conspicuously for an answer. Do we have it? Can we export the "New Rural Society"?

Take the Artibonite Valley in Haiti as a case study. The Haitian Government has set up an ODVA, or Authority for Development of the Artibonite Valley. With the help of American technicians and financing, it is undertaking construction of a 21-million-dollar irrigation, drainage, and power project. Engineers have made reports on physical feasibility, agricultural specialists on production capacity, and economists on ways and means of financing. On February 23, 1953, *Time* magazine described how the first explosive charge was detonated amid ceremonies appropriate to commencement of an effort to double production

\*A paper read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Stillwater, Okla., Sept. 4, 1953. The general theme of the meeting was "Rural Society Tomorrow." The paper stems in part from researches supported by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of the University of California.

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on 77,000 acres now occupied by upwards of 100,000 peasants.<sup>1</sup>

Standing on the floor of that valley in Haiti a year ago, the author found himself trying hard to answer the question that forms the title of this paper. For engineering, plus agricultural science, plus credit do not alone add up to a sound rural society. A society is more than the sum of these elements. It includes the people; their resources, their ways, and their institutions, as well. We know how to export engineering, agricultural science, and credit; but do we have the wisdom required to export the additional ingredients needed to make a good new rural society?

Population is dense in the Artibonite Valley, and increasing at the rate of around  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum.<sup>2</sup> Campaigns for sanitation and education, which will accompany the project, promise to cut the future death rate much faster than the birth rate. But we shall not consider the gloomy prospect that, in the long run, the project may do no more than provide the present inadequate diet to an enlarged number of people. Whatever the final outcome, the project should go forward.

The people of the Artibonite Valley are almost wholly of African stock, descended from slaves who won freedom and independence a century and a half

ago. Around 90 per cent are illiterate, unable even to speak French, the official language of the country. Their speech is a patois. Agriculture is almost the sole occupation. Their tools are the hoe and the machete; they lack plows and draft animals; and they thresh rice by flailing and winnowing. Women, trudging barefoot for many miles along roads and paths with baskets on their heads, are a chief means of transporting produce. They are seconded by burros and rarely by a truck. The few bicycles and saddle horses carry little freight.

The peasants live in clusters of mud-plastered thatched huts. Their present level of living is low—very low. Most of the people gain their subsistence from small landholdings that range between one-half and two hectares in size. (One hectare equals 2.4 acres.) Technicians express an opinion that after the project has succeeded in doubling present productive capacity in the Valley by providing water for a second crop of rice each year, units of three hectares will then provide a reasonable minimum living for a family. This is the gauge of the level of living; the average family now has perhaps as much as one-fourth of what it needs.

Yet for all his poverty today, the Artibonite peasant has a measure of security and independence, for he owns the land he tills. Except for one banana plantation and a small amount of tenancy, the Valley is farmed by owner-operators using family labor and occasional exchanging work with neighbors. They rally these by tying a flag to a pole and hoisting it over their rice field. Operation of farms by wage labor or by tenants is rare. The society of the peasant, in sum, is characterized by a low level of living, but also by security, equality, classlessness, and widespread sharing of the products of the Valley's agriculture.

Launching a project in the Artibonite Valley will be a great shock to

<sup>1</sup> "Haiti," *Time*, Feb. 23, 1953, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, Mission to Haiti. *Report of the UN Mission of Technical Assistance to the Republic of Haiti* (Lake Success, N. Y., July, 1949), p. 29. Another UN study places Haiti next to Japan and Egypt in order of highest density of total population in relation to arable land. See United Nations, Dept. of Economic Affairs, *Land Reform: Defects in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development* (New York, 1951), pp. 7, 96-101. The Island of Haiti (also called Hispaniola or Santo Domingo) is divided into the Republic of Haiti in the west, developed by the French, and the Dominican Republic in the east, developed by the Spanish.

the existing society and economy. It is intended to be. It means sudden intrusion of large expenditures and purposeful campaigns of education into an underdeveloped, if not primitive, area. Capital and technology are to be directed toward producing change. There is not the least doubt that they can produce it, that the changes will be pervasive, and that they will come fast. The question that remains is whether these changes will prove orderly, stabilizing, unifying, and broadly beneficial to all, or whether they will be disorderly, disruptive, divisive, and disastrous to many while advantageous to a few.

Does the simple, now-secure peasant understand this? Probably not. *Time* magazine says his attitude has always been, "If a farm agent knows some better way of farming, why isn't he busy making money at it instead of telling us about it?"<sup>3</sup> If that is the measure of his understanding of new agricultural techniques, he is not likely to grasp the fact that he is being thrust rapidly into a new rural society, one that can either elevate his level of living and preserve his status or destroy them.

Regardless of what the peasant thinks, others have already cast the die to give him a new society. Do they see any more clearly than the peasant the full nature of the responsibility they have assumed? Doubtless they do. And seeing, what do they propose to do about it? The Haitian Government, the foreign and domestic technicians, and all those who make the project possible now face the fateful issue.

These are the essentials of the situation: At present the yield of the land is so meager that generally it cannot support two families—tenant and landlord. There is little or no incentive to invest accumulated funds in land. These conditions will be changed by

improving irrigation under the project. Productivity will rise, and land will become attractive as a place for investment. Some capital may be accumulated by thrifty and far-sighted peasants who will increase their holdings, as opportunity affords, by purchase from less thrifty, less far-sighted, or less fortunate neighbors. More often, officials and professionals in towns and cities are likely to be the purchasers, and to become absentee landlords. As production and commerce in the Valley rise, funds available for investment will increase. Since industry and trade are unlikely to develop sufficiently to invite and absorb all the capital accumulated through improved trade, much of it is likely to be used to purchase land. The social and political effects of this process can become very serious. Choh-Ming Li, of the University of California, has described how similar changes produced widespread absentee landlordism in China, Japan, Lower Burma, Central Siam, and Cochin China, and gave rise to the deep-seated agrarian discontent that "is at least partly responsible for the change of regime on the Chinese mainland and for the wars that are still going on in the Philippines, Burma, and Indochina."<sup>4</sup>

The Artibonite Valley peasant faces displacement through other forces besides investment by absentee landlords. Machinery makes it profitable to the operator to farm in larger units. He is placed under constant invitation and pressure to seek lower unit costs of production by enlarging his enterprise. The operator "saves" labor and reduces overhead costs. The "saved" labor in the person of the peasant is displaced and reduced to the status of a landless seasonal laborer, or of a competitor for a piece of land, bidding up

<sup>3</sup> "Haiti," *Time*, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Choh-Ming Li, "Economic Problems of the Peasant in the Far East," *World Affairs Interpreter*, XXII:4 (Jan., 1952), pp. 431-439.

the rents against other would-be tenants. This process destroys the unity of peasant society and splits it down the middle into classes with a wide gulf between. A similar process was producing these effects in many parts of the United States during the 1930's when displaced tenants, sharecroppers, and laborers, like the peasants of Haiti, had no place to go—no "safety valve" of alternative employment either on new lands or in industry. The misery and strife caused by that process are too well-known and remembered to need more than mention.

If prospects of new industrial employment in Haiti were bright, or if the opportunities for emigration of "surplus" population were generous, then this particular danger to achievement of the purposes of the project would not exist. However, neither of these "safety valves" seems to be available. Opportunity for future industrial employment appears to be very modest, at best. Resources are few and limited. Opportunity for relief by emigration scarcely exists. Haitian laborers have been driven back from Santo Domingo by force of arms. Cuba, too, has rejected them. The United States does not encourage them; neither do the Latin-American countries facing population pressures and/or development problems of their own.

The effects of peasant displacement in the Artibonite Valley would probably be more distressing, not to say disastrous, than similar effects in the United States during the 1930's. In Haiti farms are so much smaller, population so much more dense, the state of technology so much lower, that the present opportunity to "save labor" by introducing "efficient" methods of operation is much greater than it was in the United States in the distressed thirties. Besides, by the end of the 1930's in the United States, a "safety valve" in the form of new employment in defense industries did finally open

to lift displaced tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and laborers off relief rolls. It does not seem safe to rely upon such a safety valve in Haiti's immediate future, and there is no evidence that Haiti has either plans or resources for the kind of rural relief program that the United States used in the thirties to cushion the shock of rural displacement. The prospect in Haiti is heavy displacement of peasants from land-ownership, and growing agglomerations of holdings. Men will see their advantage in investing heavily in land of increased productivity, either for purposes of tenant operation, or for operating sizeable tracts personally or through managers.

The record in the United States of the process just described and predicted for the Artibonite Valley is so plain that the high probability of similar developments in Haiti is not to be denied. No technological barrier stands in the way of replacing the present methods of hand-and-hoe planting of rice in the Artibonite Valley with the airplane-seeding method in use in the Sacramento Valley of California or of supplanting the flailing and winnowing of rice with combine harvesting. The chief remaining obstacle to the introduction of American machines is the multiplicity of small peasant land-ownerships and small operating units. These will give way before technological advance, and the status and security of the majority of the peasants will fall with them.

Some may question whether Haitians are likely to prove as imaginative, energetic, and effective as American farm operators and town investors in consolidating land for "efficient" large-scale operation or investing funds as absentee landowners. They may or may not be equally imaginative, energetic, and effective; certainly they are less experienced and have fewer resources. However, there is no reason to believe they will not show sufficient

initiative to be able to produce the effects forecast. Recent information from the Artibonite Valley offers the following straws of evidence: (1) One man has recently purchased a large acreage of uncultivated land, now in mesquite, that is to be served with irrigation water by the project; (2) a group of townspeople own lands in the Valley that they are considering combining for unified machine operation; (3) a petty official, resident in one of the thatched-hut villages of the Valley, owns 19 hectares of land which he rents to five tenant families. Haitians already drive heavy caterpillar tractors and fly airplanes; doubtless they can learn to operate plows, combines, and other modern farm machinery.

The preceding analysis has emphasized the prospect of land agglomeration at the expense of wide distribution of landownership. A second prospect is the excessive subdivision of holdings through inheritance. The two processes probably will proceed simultaneously. For some reason that does not appear, a recent study of Artibonite Valley by the United Nations recognizes only the latter of these two prospects. It emphasizes the danger from dwarf holdings and fails to refer to the hazard of land agglomeration. The UN study says: "... the establishment at the outset of minimum units for landownership and inheritance seems a most important and critical need. . . . Otherwise, with an over-population in the plain, the people will unavoidably remain, as individuals, as poor and as lacking in opportunities and equipment as they are at present."<sup>5</sup>

Enforcement of a legal minimum size of landholding in Haiti faces extreme difficulties. With meager prospect of fresh economic opportunities for dis-

placed people outside the Artibonite Valley, and with early reversal of the balance of births and deaths to produce a stable or declining population improbable, it seems unlikely that peasant families will readily accept an imposed limitation on inheritance that would leave all their land to one descendant, and turn the rest adrift with nothing. The UN proposal seems to mistake the true remedy for dwarf holdings. The evil, if it can be avoided at all, is to be circumvented by making more land available to more people through a limitation on agglomeration in order to reduce the pressure that results in excessive subdivision, and by moderating the rate of population growth.

United States Reclamation Law furnishes excellent precedent for placing a legal maximum on size of farms irrigated by public aid, in the interest of promoting a rural society of working farmers.<sup>6</sup> It limits the water an individual can obtain to an amount sufficient to irrigate 160 acres. A limitation to 160 acres is, of course, far too high to meet the needs of Haitian peasant society. In the context of our "New Rural Society" of the United States, any figure below 160 acres (67 hectares) may appear unduly restrictive on what able and energetic Haitians may wish to do in the Artibonite Valley. But the problem is framed by Haitian conditions, not those of the United States. An acreage limitation of, say, 100 hectares, would permit an

<sup>5</sup> Enforcement falls far short of the intent of the law, but possibly enforcement would have been better if the United States were experiencing population pressures and lacked the resources and political institutions to develop industrial employment possibilities. Acreage limitation is also a device for control of speculation. See Paul S. Taylor, "The 160-Acre Water Limitation and the Water Resources Commission," *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. III, pp. 435-450; Bureau of Reclamation, *Landownership Survey on Federal Reclamation Projects* (Washington, 1946), pp. 7-11.

<sup>6</sup> United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, *Land Development of the Artibonite Plain of Haiti* (New York, Nov. 11, 1952, ST/TAA/K/Haiti/1), pp. 2, 26.



ambitious man with managerial ability to displace 50 or 60 Haitian peasant families, if he could. Even as low a maximum limitation as 9 hectares—three times the minimum size recommended by technicians as desirable to meet the reasonable requirements of a family, and four or five times the present average size—would permit displacement of two-thirds or more of the present farm population. Whatever the limitation chosen, it should be the result of weighing carefully the advantages in affording opportunity to able and aggressive men to enlarge their farms, against the disadvantages of extensive displacement of humans to whom that means walking the economic plank.

Protections against growth of absentee-ownership and excessive debt are as necessary as protections against land agglomeration, if the new rural society is to serve the needs of the people of the Valley.

There is no intention here to suggest that Haitian peasants be held to arduous labors and primitive methods, and denied the benefits of modern techniques, including machinery. Protection of the Haitian peasantry does not require this. On the contrary, every encouragement should be given through educational, cooperative, and credit devices to bring the gains of modern methods to the people who now work with the hoe. This effort also must be made if the Haitian peasants are to remain in possession of their land and water, and to share widely and fully in the benefits of the project.

These questions raised concerning the future rural society in the Artibonite Valley are neither new nor peculiar to Haiti. The West has been exporting its technology, its economic ways, its culture, for generations. We have had time enough to find out some of the effects on less developed societies. Choh-Ming Li, explaining the si-

multaneous rise of acute agrarian distress in many parts of Asia, says simply, "It has been brought to light by various field studies that the present degree of concentration of landownership has actually been a result of commercialization and industrialization, a process which is now called economic development."<sup>7</sup>

The process of creating agrarian problems in underdeveloped areas has been slow during the century or two since Asia began feeling the technological and commercial impact of the West. Now we have learned how to transmit more science, technology, and finance, and to do it faster. We do it, of course, with the best of motives, as a cardinal point in our foreign policy of helping underdeveloped people abroad and promoting our own political interests and beliefs.

Last year an American correspondent, Richard D. Robinson, told the effects of exporting only technology to rural Turkey. The facts were summarized in an American newspaper:

In the new villages with adequate tracts, the new tractors were an aid. But on the small tracts they couldn't be worked profitably, and when put on the large landholdings, the sharecroppers have lost their status, and become hired men or drifted to the cities. Of fifteen villages surveyed, tractors disrupted the pattern of ten.

Well, say the planners, let the people move to the cities, adding manpower to growing industry. But they have ancestral cottages in the villages, and are not fooled by the supposed joys of a city proletariat.

Robinson writes: "In the all-out farm mechanization campaign to drive up Turkey's cotton exports, high-level planners—including the ECA Mission in

<sup>7</sup> Choh-Ming Li, *op. cit.*, p. 432. See also, Choh-Ming Li, "The Subsistence Farmer in the Process of Economic Development," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1952), Vol. I, pp. 151-162.



Turkey—largely overlooked the human problem generated in the process."<sup>8</sup>

An editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle* makes this pungent reflection:

Ah, yes, there is a human problem in living, isn't there? It isn't all mechanics and technics. Would there be any way of impressing this truth on the High-Level Planners who spend your energy and initiative, or money—in between all their conferences and briefings, and the many papers they must initial?<sup>9</sup>

After returning home from his inspection of the Artibonite Valley in 1952, the writer turned some of the pages of history, realizing that he was only the latest of a long line of Westerners interested in bringing our knowledge to the inhabitants of the island of Haiti. His first predecessor there was Christopher Columbus, who came to Haiti in 1492. He was followed quickly by administrators. By the European definitions of the time, their intentions toward the natives were good—although these would hardly conform to our own mid-twentieth century definitions of the "New Rural Society." At least Queen Isabella's intentions were good when she issued the following cedula, in 1503, for her governor's guidance in bringing Spanish knowledge and Spanish ways to the islanders:

In as much as the King, my Lord, and I, in the instruction we commanded given to Don Fray Nicolás de Ovando, Comendador mayor of Alcántara, at the time when he went to the islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea, decreed that the Indian inhabitants and residents of the island of Española are free and not subject . . . and as now we are informed that because of the excessive liberty enjoyed by the said Indians they avoid contact and community with the Spaniards to such an extent that they will not even work for wages, but wander about

idle, and cannot be had by the Christians to convert to the Holy Catholic Faith; and in order that the Christians of the said island . . . may not lack people to work their holdings for their maintenance, and may be able to take out what gold there is on the island . . . and because we desire that the said Indians be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith and taught in its doctrines; and because this can better be done by having the Indians living in community with the Christians of the island, and by having them go among them and associate with them, by which means they will help each other to cultivate and settle and increase the fruits of the island and take the gold which may be there and bring profit to my kingdom and subjects:

I have commanded this my letter to be issued on the matter, in which I command you, our said Governor, that beginning from the day you receive my letter you will compel and force the said Indians to associate with the Christians of the island and to work on their buildings, and to gather and mine the gold and other metals, and to till the fields and produce food for the Christian inhabitants and dwellers of the said island; and you are to have each one paid on the day he works the wage and maintenance which you think he should have . . . and you are to order each cacique to take charge of a certain number of the said Indians so that you may make them work wherever necessary, and so that on feast days and such days as you think proper they may be gathered together to hear and be taught in matters of the Faith . . . This the Indians shall perform as free people, which they are, and not as slaves. And see to it that the said Indians are well treated, those who become Christians better than the others, and do not consent or allow that any person do them any harm or oppress them. . . .

I, the Queen.<sup>10</sup>

The unintended outcome of the Spanish conquerors' interpretation of Queen Isabella's authorization in 1503 was an entirely new population in Haiti, as well as a new rural society.

<sup>8</sup> Royce Brier, "This World Today," San Francisco *Chronicle*, March 20, 1952 (editorial page).

<sup>9</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Publications in History), Vol. XIX, pp. 30-31.

The Indians died off rapidly under the diseases, the greed, and the practices of the conquerors; so they were replaced by African slave laborers.<sup>11</sup> Three hundred years later the Africans in Haiti threw off the European yoke, won their freedom, rejected the plantations of the French (who had developed the western part of the Island), and built their own peasant society in the Artibonite Valley.

Another century and a half has now passed; it is now exactly 450 years since the Queen issued her cedula of 1503. Again the people of Haiti are being offered western European knowledge—in an American version—to help them “increase the fruits of the island.” We feel confident of our motives, for we are not looking for gold. We are sure of our engineering, agricultural, and financial techniques. We are not out to coerce the Haitians while we utter words that forbid “any person”

to “do them any harm or oppress them.” We shall not exterminate them by disease and hardship; we are more likely to make possible the multiplication of their numbers to press upon the capacity of the fruits of their island to support them. We plan no system of plantations worked by landless laborers. But we do intend to export the machines and technology that will alter their equalitarian, peasant society beyond recognition.

Beyond doubt, we have the know-how to increase people's production. But before we are brought up sharply by events, we will do well to face the question, Have we the know-how to export “the New Rural Society”? Can we raise people's level of living without exploding their society from within, without unleashing contending forces that will trample their security and equality underfoot, and leave insecurity, inequality, and strife in their wake? Unless we can, we shall fail in the purposes on which our foreign policy rests.

<sup>11</sup> See Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1952), pp. 94-98.

## THE RURAL SOCIOCULTURAL AREA AS A FIELD FOR RESEARCH\*

by Charles E. Lively and Cecil L. Gregory†

### ABSTRACT

This paper outlines the history and current status of sociological research involving the delineation, interpretation, and use of rural sociocultural areas. The authors take the position that such homogeneous areas should be outlined in terms of sociocultural factors that are related to the purposes for which the areas are being delineated. The significance of these areas for research and in action programs is pointed out. Needed research is outlined and some hypotheses are suggested for further testing.

For many years, students of phenomena widely distributed in space have recognized the existence of subareas with special characteristics. Such subareas have generally been distinguished in terms of rather obvious factors, but they have usually served to simplify the problem being examined, by means of stratifying—in some manner however crude—the universe under consideration. Usually, these subareas have been set apart in terms of physical and cultural characteristics of the people; and, where such characteristics were not obvious, similar areas have been differentiated in terms of such biophysical factors as topography or the prevailing flora and fauna of the locality. In any case, such a procedure may, or may not in any precise manner, have set the limits of the problem selected for study; but it did serve to delimit the area sampled, and, presumably therefore, served in some measure to delimit the area within which the findings of the study were applicable.

In following this practice of delineating subareas, American rural sociologists have been no exception. They are constantly confronted with problems involving space; for, in American rural areas, the population and, therefore,

the social organization are spread relatively thin over the landscape. Rural culture follows the contours of population and social organization. Hence, as the sociologist moves into the study of larger areas than the local community, he almost inevitably begins to look for significant gradients with which to delimit subareas, in order that he may in some measure stratify the universe studied by breaking it into component geographic subunits, each with its own peculiar characteristics. It is the point of view of this paper that such subdivisions of the sociocultural landscape, delineated for purposes of sociological research, may be—and properly should be—outlined in terms of sociocultural factors that are related to the purposes for which the areas are being delineated. The authors believe that when properly determined, such subareas represent a more rational and economical approach to sociological research involving large areas, such as a group of counties or states, than any yet devised.

The delineation of sociocultural areas in terms of sociocultural factors (as contrasted with biophysical factors) raises at once the question of the basis of differentiation. Where gradients in the sociocultural landscape indicate marked differences in "kind," as indicated by such basic factors as race, language, habitation, and food habits, there is likely to be little doubt concerning the approximate boundaries of the subarea in question. Such in-

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stances are not included within the scope of this paper; for American rural sociologists are concerned with a sociocultural landscape that probably varies less in kind than in degree.

True enough, as one moves across the landscape, certain factors drop out and others appear. It may be that cotton culture gives way to pastures and dairying, orchards appear as the big plantation house disappears, and casual labor gives way to farm-operator labor. But, in spite of such instances, the great bulk of sociocultural characteristics remain, varying in degree only. The age of the population, the birth rate, the size of farm, the degree of mechanization, the proportion of time spent working off the farm, the level of schooling, and the rate of participation in formal organizations are examples of a very large number of significant factors that traverse the entire sociocultural landscape, and must be dealt with, if at all, as continuous variables. It is with this sort of situation that this paper is concerned. After considerable work in this field, the authors believe that, under such circumstances, subareas can be delineated to best advantage in terms of a homogeneity-heterogeneity continuum.

In recent years, the term "homogeneous area" has been applied to geographic areas within which measured sociocultural characteristics have been found to be relatively homogeneous in certain respects as compared with surrounding areas. No absolute measure of homogeneity has yet been developed. Consequently, homogeneity is spoken of either in terms of the larger whole of which the area is a part, or in terms of the degree of homogeneity required for some particular purpose at hand. The homogeneity of an area may be referred to in terms of a group of special characteristics, such as housing or health and longevity, or in the more general sense of all measurable characteristics. Since the rural sociol-

ogist is commonly concerned with some definite area such as a state, region, or nation, he is necessarily confronted with areas of varying degrees of homogeneity, some highly so, and, at the other extreme, some which might better be called heterogeneous areas. Hence, it seems appropriate to refer to homogeneity as a major differentiating factor in the study of sociocultural areas.

#### BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

1. The chief assumption underlying the concept of subarea delineation in terms of homogeneity is that culture "hangs together":<sup>1</sup> that culture, under similar and relatively stable conditions, and given sufficient time, represents an integrated system of traits and complexes that possesses meaning for the people; and that the sum total of the intercorrelations among these traits can never be zero.
2. If the above assumption is granted, it may be further assumed that, within any sufficiently large geographic segment of human society, it is possible to study the interrelationships in space of any combination of culture traits or complexes, and, as a result, draw geographic lines segregating those social areas having a greater or lesser degree of internal homogeneity for the factors in question than the social universe of which the subareas are a part. Further, it may be assumed that once delimited by multifactor analysis, these subareas may be regarded as social entities for purposes of the study of their internal structure and functioning and their relationships with the larger whole of which they are a part.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Malinowski, "Culture," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, pp. 624-625.

3. A final assumption is that, for purposes of sociological description and analysis, sociocultural areas delimited by means of sociocultural factors are superior to similar areas delimited by means of biophysical factors, such as climate, topography, soil type, etc. While in the long run certain correspondences between the culture of a people and their physical-biological environment may be expected to emerge, such adjustment requires time, and over any given period cannot be expected to occur with any high degree of precision. Migrating peoples take their cultures with them and try tenaciously to utilize them in the new environments. Furthermore, in dynamic societies, war, diffusion, and commercial considerations may result in sociocultural developments that in the long run cannot be regarded as successful adaptations to the prevailing physical-biological environment.

#### RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

In studying rural society, rural sociologists must deal frequently with large geographic areas of great social variability. One of the first steps in the scientific approach to any new area of study is to classify the types of data and problems encountered. By classifying the territory of study into areas of relative homogeneity and heterogeneity, the sociologist may simplify his universe of study and localize his problems more fully. For more specific indications of the utility of the homogeneous-heterogeneous area approach to research in rural sociology, the following points may be noted:

1. It is indispensable as a means of stratifying the universe under study (a) for proportional sampling, (b) for determining the geographic limitations of generalization, and (c) for determining the

minimal sample necessary for a given degree of reliability. For purely exploratory surveys, the approach offers little on the side of economy; but in prolonged studies of the same areas, considerable saving can be effected by reducing the size of the samples to a minimum. Or, to state it in reverse, the scope of study may be broadened and considerably more work accomplished for the same expenditure that would be required were this approach not employed.

2. In sampling geographic areas for sociological study, almost inevitably some formal basis for stratification or delimitation of territory is used. For this purpose, the homogeneous-heterogeneous approach to stratification is superior to that of topography, soil type, type of farming, or other similar factors that may be only imperfectly correlated with the incidence of the social characteristics under study. By employing the homogeneous-heterogeneous sociocultural area approach, the territory may be stratified in terms of the particular characteristics studied, together with their correlates.
3. The sociocultural geography provided by the homogeneous-heterogeneous approach affords the basis for numerous valuable studies concerned with the sociocultural structure of rural society. A few such studies are suggested by the hypotheses offered in the latter part of this paper. Others will readily occur to the student who undertakes this approach to rural social phenomena.
4. Sociocultural areas are useful as partial determinants of areas for the publication of official data such as that of the U. S. Census. Although census areas may not entirely coincide with those of the



sociologist, because of the numerous interests involved in their determination and use, they are likely to correspond more nearly to "sociological" areas than they would if the sociologist had something less precise to offer.<sup>3</sup> They should prove useful as areas for the operation of controlled experiments.

#### SIGNIFICANCE FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Administrators of action programs frequently welcome precise information about their field of action, especially if such information can be applied with some degree of precision to particular areas. Sociocultural areas appeal to many administrators, because these areas can be mapped and visualized and often seem more pertinent to their ends than purely physical factors, such as topography. Research information based upon such areas tends to be convincing. Hence, persons who plan and administer action programs covering large and varied areas are likely to utilize the results of sociological research when such results are made available on the basis of sociocultural areas. Such data are equally useful to those persons who seek to promote democratic social planning and social action at the local level.

Sociocultural areas may also be utilized to prevent what might otherwise result in attempts to promote programs of social organization and social welfare on the basis of nonsociological units.

#### HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIELD

In their studies of rural society, rural sociologists have been concerned with the location and movements of

population in space, and the spatial relations of group incidence and structure, institutions, and culture. The concept of homogeneity-heterogeneity, as applied to areas of social organization and culture, arises naturally out of this preoccupation with spatial relationships. Historically, therefore, the concept as applied to an area is related to social ecology. Human ecology represents a concept borrowed from biology and applied to human populations. Sociologists in using the concept have stressed the study of ecological organization and processes, the study of "natural" areas, and the study of the spatial aspects of human phenomena.<sup>4</sup> Although rural sociologists have seldom thought of themselves as social ecologists, they have contributed considerably to scientific work in that field through their studies of the structure of the rural community, village-country relationships, rural population mobility, and the spatial patterns of various social phenomena such as schools, churches, organizations, levels of living, and neighborhoods.

The concept of homogeneity as applied to sociocultural areas is closely related to the work of the community sociologists, both rural and urban. Students of the rural community have distinguished and delineated the "rurban" community with its village center and tributary open country "hinterland," and other locality groups, such as open-country neighborhoods and "cultural islands."<sup>4</sup> Students of the urban com-

<sup>3</sup> See J. A. Quinn, "Current Literature on Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI: 2 (Sept., 1940), for discussion and bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> See J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (3rd ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946); Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), Part II; and Walter M. Kollmorgen, *The German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama* (Washington, D. C.: USDA, BAE, 1941).

<sup>2</sup> The general correspondence of the "economic areas" now being used for publication of the results of the U. S. Census of 1950 with the rural social areas of Missouri, as developed by the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, is worthy of note.



munity have distinguished such so-called "natural areas" as the rooming-house area, blighted areas, interstitial areas, and racial-cultural areas such as the Ghetto, "Little Italy," etc.<sup>5</sup> These studies emphasize sociocultural subdivisions of the community, but it is a simple matter to transfer the concept to the analysis of sociocultural relationships in more expansive and less obviously delimited geographic areas.

The concept of the homogeneous area is also related to regionalism and regional determination in the sociological sense.<sup>6</sup> Although a region is not necessarily a homogeneous area in any strict sense, it does represent a subdivision of some larger area such as a continent or nation, and, by definition, represents a more homogeneous sociocultural grouping than the larger area of which it is a part. However, regions have generally been determined chiefly on the basis of biophysical factors and have been regarded as "natural" areas, expressed in terms of geographic factors and natural resources. Therefore, they have been considered as natural economic units, each possessing certain comparative advantages which might well be recognized and integrated into the economic system of the larger whole. The sociocultural approach to regional delineation and analysis has been neglected.<sup>7</sup> But insofar as socio-

cultural regions have been recognized and delineated, the same methods can be applied to the delineation of sub-areas within the region.

The concept of homogeneous area is related to anthropology. Cultural anthropologists, faced with the spatial aspects of cultural variation, began to sort their museum pieces according to geographic areas. This led to corresponding delimited areas on maps to show from whence they came.<sup>8</sup> Such exercises naturally led to studies of apparent diffusion and its original sources, and to the notion of the cultural area with its "core" of greatest homogeneity and its peripheral area of increasing heterogeneity as one approaches the border of a neighboring culture.

The current interest in the use of quantitative methods for the delineation of sociocultural areas is of recent origin. As an areal basis for his study of human factors in cotton culture, Vance<sup>9</sup> delineated the principal area of cotton production in the Old Cotton Belt, and described the integrated system of cotton production and marketing and the work and living routines of the people engaged in it. He assumed that the type of agriculture governs not only the major interests but also the social organization of the people who depend upon agriculture for a living. In doing so, he quoted Mukerjee that "Whenever man depends upon agriculture and has found a permanent abode, the growing of different staple crops such as rice, wheat or Indian corn, and the rearing of different domestic animals, selected from among the native stock of a region, govern not

<sup>5</sup> Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society* (New York: Thos. Y. Crowell Co., 1948), Part II.

<sup>6</sup> See H. W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1938); H. W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1936); and National Resources Committee, *Regional Factors in National Planning* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1935), chap. XII.

<sup>7</sup> A. R. Mangus has made what may prove to be the most successful attempt to map the regions of the United States in terms of sociocultural factors. See his *Rural Regions of the United States* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), chaps. 1-3.

<sup>8</sup> See M. J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948), chap. 12, for a review of literature and bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> Rupert B. Vance, *Human Factors in Cotton Culture* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1929).

merely man's interests and habits, but also his social organization."<sup>10</sup>

Vance believed that much that was distinctive in southern culture had developed as a kind of complex around the cotton plant, and that the system was too intricate to be set forth in terms of statistics and cases. As a part of the study, he attempted to show how cotton culture had given rise to a set of characteristic attitudes, thus rounding out the entire system into a harmonious whole. This point of view has been the dominating factor in determining the sociological approach to the study of rural life by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.<sup>11</sup>

Odum<sup>12</sup> set for himself the problem of delimiting the South, as a whole, from the rest of the United States. Employing the statistical approach, chiefly, he delineated the South in terms of some 700 variable factors. Woofter,<sup>13</sup> working with Odum, differentiated the Old South into its subregions. He believed that the "blends of soil and climate have dictated certain crop practices, which, in time, have formed the habits of the people," and, hence, the "physical differences are the dominant factor" in subregional determination. Using county units, he found the core counties of one subregion "well differentiated from those at the core of the neighboring regions." Selecting fourteen indexes of differentiation, he calculated medians and allocated fringe counties so as to keep the internal variability of each subregion

at a minimum. In this way he distinguished twenty-seven subregions and named them in terms of physical-agricultural-industrial characteristics.

In the absence of what he considered sufficient proof of the dominant influence of physical factors in the determination of sociocultural areas, Lively<sup>14</sup> rejected Woofter's approach. In their search for homogeneous subareas in Ohio, Lively and Almack<sup>15</sup> began with two basic assumptions: (1) that there is no perfect or constant relationship between biophysical factors and sociocultural factors; and (2) that, within any given society, sociocultural traits are correlated and therefore, by means of correlation analysis, the tangle of sociocultural factors can be simplified for purposes of comprehension and delineation of subareas. Using county data, they reduced 83 measures of sociocultural variability to three constellations of intercorrelated factors. These three constellations were used to delineate groups of counties that were homogeneous to the extent of 75 per cent or less of the variation within all counties of the state. Area delineation was made in terms of the "master factor"<sup>16</sup> of each constellation. No attempt was made to unite the three sets of subareas thus determined, and, since the search was for counties suitable for resettlement of additional population, and homogeneity was more important than contiguity, the resulting subareas were not made contiguous.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted by Vance, *ibid.*, p. vii.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. F. Elliott, *Types of Farming in the United States* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933); also, C. C. Taylor et al., *Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1949), chap. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, op. cit.

<sup>13</sup> T. J. Woofter, Jr., "The Subregions of the Southeast," *Social Forces*, XIII:1 (Oct., 1934), pp. 43-50.

<sup>14</sup> C. E. Lively, "Social Planning and the Sociology of Subregions," *Rural Sociology*, II:3 (Sept., 1937), p. 296.

<sup>15</sup> C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio State Univ., Dept. of Rural Econ., Mimeo. Bull. 106, 1938).

<sup>16</sup> The factor that carried the largest number of correlates with the highest average of coefficients.

Taking the data used by Lively and Almack, Hagood<sup>17</sup> and associates set about to delineate contiguous subareas for Ohio. They first introduced two additional factors, latitude and longitude; second, they employed factor analysis to determine the factor loadings to be used; and, third, they combined the factors so loaded into a composite index. When this final composite factor was subdivided into class intervals, contiguous areas emerged.

By making use of factor analysis to produce a single weighted index based upon many component factors, Hagood thus produced a distinct advance in method. Also, the introduction of directional factors, such as latitude and longitude, represented a useful device for obtaining contiguity of areas. Usually however, contiguity must be obtained at the expense of homogeneity, or a larger number of separate areas must be recognized. Here is a case in which the methods of area delineation must be dictated in part by the ends which the areas are intended to serve.

In Missouri, Lively and Gregory<sup>18</sup> undertook to delineate relatively homogeneous sociocultural subareas for the state. These areas were to be contiguous and sufficiently broad in sociocultural content to be used for a variety of purposes, such as stratified sampling and general program planning. The resulting areas, five in number and delineated in terms of county units, included all of the state except the suburban area of St. Louis County. The correlation process was used to combine partial measures of the same sociocultural complex into a composite index. As in Ohio, the most important

single measure of sociocultural variability, in terms of its correlates, was found to be the plane of living index. This index was used to delineate the first approximation to the final areas. Marginal counties were shifted by using methods similar to those employed by Woofter a few years earlier, so as to adjust the borders of the areas and obtain maximum homogeneity. The data used were those of 1930. Later, a recheck of the areas in terms of 1940 data showed only slight variation in the areas of 1930, and that variation occurred at the margins.<sup>19</sup> Data for 1950 now indicate that the areas are still intact, suggesting that stability in time is one of the important characteristics of these sociocultural areas.

In 1943, Hagood<sup>20</sup> published the results of an attempt to regionalize the United States in terms of groups of states. In this attempt, she demonstrated more completely than any previous study how a series of partial measures of such a complex as type of agriculture, or population, could be integrated into a composite index by means of factor analysis, and how, by the same methods, two or more such indexes might be used to delineate relatively homogeneous areas. By bringing together the methods employed by Lively, Almack, and Gregory, and adding the element of factor analysis for purposes of factor loading, she cleared the way for the delineation of either specialized sociocultural areas (such as areas based upon agriculture, population, education, health and longevity, political behavior, etc.) or general areas based upon all available measures of sociocultural varia-

<sup>17</sup> Margaret Jarman Hagood et al., "An Examination of the Use of Factor Analysis in the Problem of Subregional Delineation," *Rural Sociology*, VI:3 (Sept., 1941), pp. 216-233.

<sup>18</sup> C. E. Lively and C. L. Gregory, *Rural Social Areas in Missouri*, Mo. AES Bull. 305 (1939).

<sup>19</sup> C. E. Lively and C. L. Gregory, *Rural Social Areas in Missouri*, Mo. AES Bull. 414 (1948).

<sup>20</sup> Margaret Jarman Hagood, "Statistical Methods for Delineation of Regions Applied to Data on Agriculture and Population," *Social Forces*, XXI:3 (Mar., 1943), pp. 287-297.

bility, to be used for more general purposes.

In the same study, Hagood also employed the coefficient of association to determine whether any particular areal unit was sufficiently like its immediate neighbors to be cast among them. The device is not only useful but virtually necessary. Since the intercorrelations among sociocultural variables are usually far from perfect, some test of the homogeneity of contiguous units becomes essential to prevent contiguous areas from being internally "spotty." Gregory has employed with good results the same device for delineating the cores of Missouri subareas.

At this point, it may be well to call attention to the fact that two approaches to the problem of finding a master factor for delineating general sociocultural areas have been employed. The simpler, and the quicker, approach has been that of constructing a composite index composed of diverse components, which from experience are known to be related to many aspects of the sociocultural universe. Such is the plane of living index. It is commonly composed of the partial measures of a number of sociocultural complexes, and consequently, when used to delineate general sociocultural subareas, it is likely to give a good approximation to the result obtained by more precise techniques. On the other hand, the more scientific, as well as the more laborious approach, is undoubtedly that of building up composite indexes of all measurable complexes, delineating subareas for each of these, and eventually integrating these indexes into a master composite index for the delineation of general, all-purpose areas,<sup>21</sup> subject to refinement by the use of the coefficient of association and other techniques.

<sup>21</sup> This is essentially the approach employed by Hagood, although she actually delineated only the general-purpose areas.

Likewise, it should be pointed out that these same methods may be employed not only to delineate special-purpose and general-purpose subareas, but also to differentiate the most homogeneous from the least homogeneous and intermediate areas. In this way the factor of homogeneity may be assigned the role of an independent sociocultural variable. As such, it may be explored in a comparative manner from one extreme to the other, and the continuum may be used for experimental work with action programs. Large, contiguous subareas, such as regions and even the larger subregions,<sup>22</sup> are likely to possess "cores" of a considerably higher degree of homogeneity than the area as a whole. Whether there is a gradual grading off from the "core" toward greater heterogeneity at the periphery is still uncertain; but subareas of marked heterogeneity may usually be located, particularly in the environs of large cities where the intercorrelations of sociocultural data seem to break down rapidly.

In Missouri, the major "core" areas, representing subareas of relatively high homogeneity in different regions which intrude into the state, have been distinguished. Investigation at the Experiment Station is now centering upon the comparative characteristics of these core areas and the implications of these comparisons for educational programs. The significance of this point may be noted in certain of the hypotheses suggested in this paper.

#### PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

"The area in which similar cultures are found is called a culture area."<sup>23</sup> Hence, it may be said that the area in which a similar social organization and culture are found may be called a sociocultural area. A homogeneous so-

<sup>22</sup> A subregion is here defined as a subdivision of a region. A subarea is any subdivision of any larger area.

<sup>23</sup> Herskovits, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

*ciocultural area* is one in which the variation in the sociocultural characteristics considered is significantly less than the variation of the same characteristics in the larger area of which it is a part.

In distinguishing the homogeneous areas, relative internal consistency as compared with other surrounding areas is stressed, rather than the mere fact of "naturalness." The sociologist takes such areas where he finds them; and, in searching for them, he explores all areas with his measuring sticks of relative internal consistency. The exploration may be accomplished with any areal unit as the basis, so long as the necessary data are available for that unit, and so long as the sociocultural phenomena represented by that unit are abundant enough to give the stabilizing effect of large numbers.

Students of society who may be interested in exploring the sociological and the social-psychological significance of homogeneous areas will discover that research leads are not difficult to find. The hypotheses for study offered here are not intended to be exhaustive, but they seem to the authors to be reasonably representative and provocative.

In the process of cultural adaptation to the biophysical environment of an area, the self-maintenance mores appear to lead. Other aspects of culture not directly related to survival tend to lag behind. This represents one aspect of the well-known theory of cultural lag. For example, the country church is probably more uniform throughout the United States than is type of farming. Although the prevailing type of farming in any area is not likely to be entirely the result of adaptation to the local physical environment, a considerable degree of such adaptation is essential for agricultural success. Conflicting factors are seen in the persistence of inherited cultural

patterns, and in attempts to adjust to the prevailing economic system.

#### *Hypothesis:*

Within any given sociocultural area, the correlations between the biophysical factors of the environment and the self-maintenance mores are higher than for other aspects of the culture.

Rural sociologists are much concerned with matters of communication, diffusion of ideas and practices, and the relation of these to sociocultural change. It is well known that considerable variability in these matters occurs, not only from area to area, but among families within the same area. The sociocultural area, therefore, becomes a significant factor in the analysis of problems of this sort. Several hypotheses are possible. The following are cited as examples:

#### *Hypotheses:*

1. The homogeneous sociocultural area offers greater resistance to invasion and change than the heterogeneous area. *Alternative statement:* The resistance offered by a sociocultural area to invasion and change is proportional to its homogeneity.
2. The homogeneous area is more selective than the heterogeneous area in its acceptances from the various cultural diffusions and stimuli to change offered by the stream of communication. (Selection is made in harmony with its own integrated system.)
3. Once begun, the rate of acceptance of a sociocultural element of diffusion is proportional to the degree of homogeneity of the area.

It is generally assumed that rapid social change, unpredictable situations, and contradictory folkways and mores are conducive to strain and emotional tension in the individual. An established social order with reasonably predictable behavior among the individuals who live in it is thought to be



conducive to mental health and a well-integrated personality. Therefore, it may be hypothesized:

*Hypothesis:*

The homogeneous rural area produces better integrated personalities—individuals less characterized by strain, aberration, mental disturbance, and unpredictable behavior—than the heterogeneous rural area. The homogeneous rural area is, therefore, more conducive to mental health.

Approaches to regionalism and regional determination have been made both from the rural and from the urban point of view. The essential difference in these two approaches appears to be that the urban approach assumes the region to be oriented to, if not dominated by, a metropolitan center, while the rural approach makes no such assumption.<sup>24</sup> This situation suggests several hypotheses, one of which is offered here:

*Hypothesis:*

The homogeneous rural sociocultural area displays less of the influence of the metropolitan center to which it is normally tributary than the heterogeneous area.

Because of the distances involved in studying sociocultural areas, and the consequent heavy expense necessary for even exploratory field work, most of the work involved so far in the study of such areas has been based upon the analysis of available statistics. But this is not enough. Eventually, careful field work must validate, by means of additional data, both quantitative and qualitative in nature, the preliminary findings of the statistical laboratory. As a simple guide to such field endeavor, the following hypothesis may be offered:

<sup>24</sup> Cf. R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), p. 107; also, Mangus, *op. cit.*

*Hypothesis:*

The people of rural areas of high sociocultural homogeneity, based upon statistical measures of tangible traits, possess correspondingly homogeneous social values. *Corollary:* The people of heterogeneous sociocultural areas possess correspondingly heterogeneous social values.

As one looks over the sociocultural landscape of such an extensive area as a state or region, it is not unusual to find smaller areas of varying size that are rather highly homogeneous within themselves, when regarded from a multiple-factor standpoint. If comparative data indicate each to be unique, they may be called "core" areas. Each core area is likely to be surrounded by areas which by the same criteria are somewhat less homogeneous than itself. The greatest sociocultural contrasts are likely to be found among these core areas. Such a situation may give rise to several hypotheses:

*Hypotheses:*

1. The homogeneous rural area represents a type of sociocultural island that tends to disappear as communicative facilities come into greater use and the economy is more closely integrated into the larger society.
2. By contrast with core areas, the surrounding areas of relative heterogeneity represent transitional areas of lesser sociocultural stability.
3. In terms of variability, the maximum contrasts in the sociocultural landscape are to be found by comparing the cores of different sub-areas.

The homogeneous rural sociocultural area is herein regarded as an area that is not only relatively homogeneous with respect to its geographic subdivisions, if any, but also with respect to the similarity of the social units of which the area is composed. On the homogeneous-heterogeneous continuum, this places the stabilized farming area of the pure type at the homo-

geneous end, and the combination industrial-agricultural, and recreational-agricultural area at the heterogeneous end of the continuum. Since the industrial element and the recreational element may be regarded as urbanizing influences, the following hypothesis may be drawn:

*Hypothesis:*

In a continuum of social value relationships from rural to urban, the social values of the homogeneous rural sociocultural area will be found at the opposite end from those of the urban-industrial area.

Rural areas of relative sociocultural heterogeneity are probably composed of somewhat diverse social elements, of varying background and history, each approaching in its own way the problem of adjustment to the various environments confronting it. For this reason, the people may be less well adjusted and less stable in their relationships than those of more homogeneous areas. By comparison, homogeneous areas may exhibit a greater degree of adjustment to the environment and a stability reinforced by collective behavior that tends to resist

social change. It is a matter that merits investigation.

*Hypothesis:*

Rural areas exhibit a stability that is proportional to their sociocultural homogeneity and their historical persistence.

In sociocultural areas of relatively high homogeneity, society is presumably better integrated than in areas of relative heterogeneity. Behavior patterns are probably more uniform and more stable, thus providing a better basis for predicting behavior. Such areas probably possess greater historic continuity. There is, perhaps, a basis in collective behavior already laid such that the people of the area can be brought to a consensus more rapidly than might be the case in more heterogeneous areas. In order to test some of these propositions, a hypothesis similar to the following might be helpful:

*Hypothesis:*

The area of relatively high sociocultural homogeneity displays more of the essential criteria of an integrated social system than the heterogeneous area, and, therefore, possesses a greater potential for collective social action.

## THE PATTERN OF KOREAN URBAN GROWTH\*

by Thomas O. Wilkinson†

### ABSTRACT

The pattern of city growth in Korea deviates from that typical of the rise of a large urban population. Most of the urban growth has occurred since the country was annexed by the Japanese, in 1910. The pattern of growth was heavily influenced by the Japanese policy of utilizing Korean resources and manpower for empire development rather than for supplying consumer needs in Korea.

Urbanization in Korea under the Japanese was extremely rapid. This was partly due to expanding economic opportunities in urban areas but also because cities served as a refuge from the poverty of densely populated agricultural areas. After World War II, urbanization continued at a rapid rate, but the limited economic base for city growth provided by Japanese activity had largely disappeared. In 1949, 17.2 per cent of the population of South Korea was in incorporated cities, but the occupational distribution showed a persistence of the rural-agricultural focus of the cities.

It appears that city growth based on escape from rural conditions has reached a saturation point. However, the outlook for establishing even a partial industrial base for the Korean economy is not promising. Thus the prospect for Korean cities is one of little growth, or even decline.

The literature dealing with the process of urban growth is concerned largely with exploring the range of factors associated with the rise of cities. Among such factors, those usually stressed are the growth of a surplus of agricultural produce, the development of an industrially specialized urban economy, and an over-all shift away from agriculturalism. The history of city growth in Korea, however, shows

deviations from the pattern generally associated with the rise of a large urban population. This paper is an attempt to point up the sources and consequences of this deviation.

Korean cities prior to Japanese occupation were small and few in number. When Japanese administration began, in 1910, there were only eleven cities with populations of over 14,000 inhabitants, and these made up only about 4 per cent of the total population.<sup>1</sup> This corresponds roughly to the degree of urbanization prevailing in the United States in the early nineteenth century. The cities that existed were primarily the residence of a tradition-bound political leader and his provincial representatives, and of those who engaged in the limited commercial pursuits related to feeding and clothing the city dwellers.

The agricultural village was the core of pre-Japanese Korean society. These villages were composed of groups of extended families, often containing members of four generations. The eld-

\*A paper read at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, May 2, 1953. The paper is taken from a larger study, *Korean Urbanization: Past Developments and Future Potentials*, which was supported by the United States Air Force under contract No. AF 33 (038)-14313 with Columbia University, monitored by The Human Resources Research Institute, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama.

Korean censuses compiled by Japanese administrators, covering the period 1925-44, and those of the post-World-War-II period, compiled by the Republic of Korea, are the sources for the data presented. Data for all other countries are taken from the official censuses of those countries.

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<sup>1</sup> A. J. Grajdanzev, *Modern Korea* (New York: The John Day Co., 1944), p. 80.

est son brought his wife into his parents' home and inherited the father's holdings upon his death. Younger sons and daughters were dependent upon an elder son's charity for subsistence. The result was the sedentary, tradition-bound village society familiar among Asiatic nations.<sup>2</sup>

When the Japanese annexed Korea in 1910, the latter was not avowedly intended to become a subjugated territory or colony but an inherent part of the Japanese empire. Japan, making a determined effort herself toward industrialization, forcibly brought into Korea the impetus which broke down Korea's traditional way of life and started her in the direction of urban-industrialism.

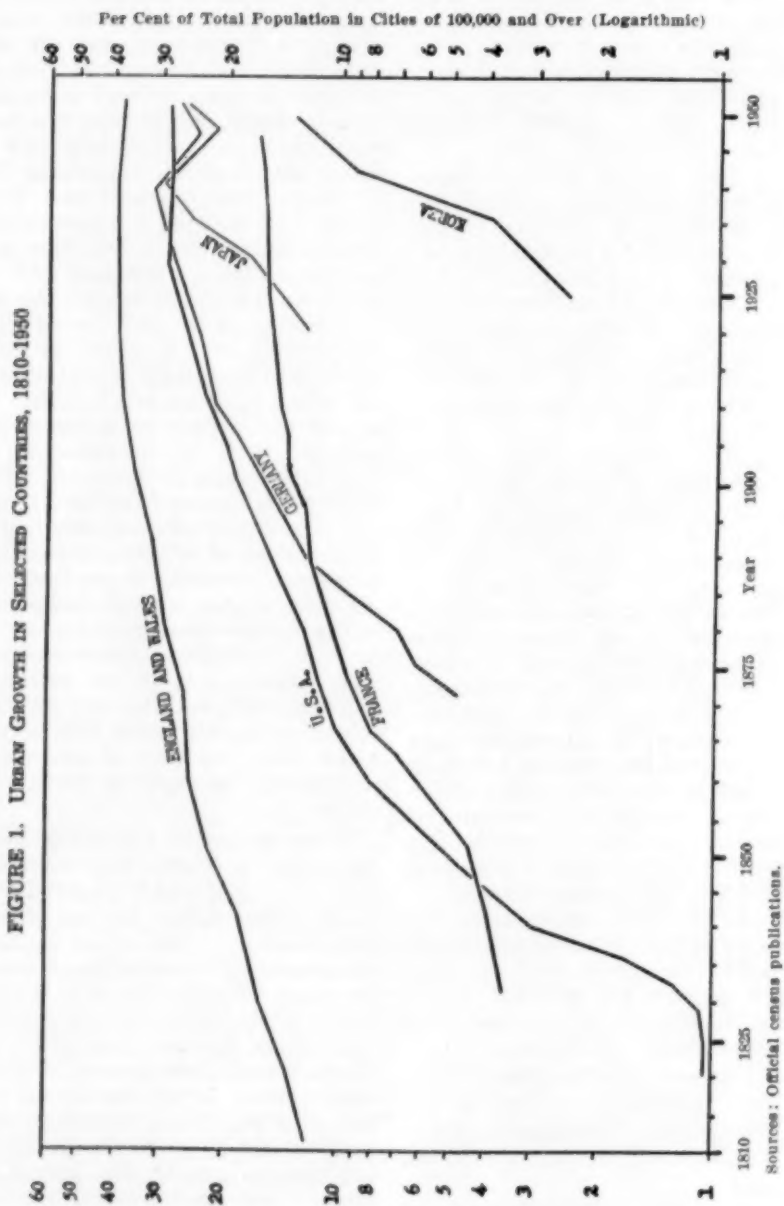
The pattern of Korean urban growth after 1910, then, is heavily influenced by the policies carried out by her Japanese administrators. Korean village society generated, in the persons of younger sons and their families, a large group whose economic security was tenuous in an already hard-pressed struggle for survival. Further, Japanese land policies deprived many more of the security which landownership had provided, thus adding these to the group without strong economic ties to village life. And finally, Japanese capital brought the development of economic activities in which this group could find at least a minimum security. The exploitation of resources, the establishment of semi-manufacturing plants, and the development of port facilities for the export of Korean agricultural produce all provided means whereby the Korean villager could find new employment.

The rapid rate of urban growth since the early twentieth century is the most outstanding characteristic of Korean development. If we use as an

index of urbanization the proportion of total population in cities of 100,000 and over, we can compare the rate of change in Korea with that in other countries for which data are available. In Figure 1, we note that those countries in which industrialization began early experienced relatively slow but steady urbanization—France, the United States, and England and Wales. Japan and Germany experienced a rapid urbanization in response to an accelerated industrialization, and both countries had passed beyond the level of urbanization in the United States and France in the years preceding World War II, though industrialization had come to them much later. The rate of city growth in Korea at comparable levels of urbanization was even faster than in Germany. In the twenty-three years from 1871 to 1894, Germany's proportion of total population in cities of 100,000 and over grew from approximately 5 per cent to 13 per cent; Korea covered this distance in the thirteen-year period from 1936 to 1949. The United States took some forty years (1848-88) to accomplish this urbanization. The data for Japan do not go back further than 1920, at which time her rate of urbanization was at least as rapid as that of Germany.

These comparisons indicate that urbanization in Korea was even more rapid than that which occurred in the newly industrialized nations of Japan and Germany. One of the factors in the growth of cities in Korea was the attraction of urban areas as a refuge from the poverty of densely populated agricultural regions. During the pre-World-War-II development of Korea's resources by Japan, the urban areas did offer expanding economic opportunities, but never to the degree that city growth during this period indicates. Germany, for example, with 7.2 per cent in cities of 100,000 and over in 1880, had only 42.2 per cent of her eco-

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius Osgood, *The Koreans and Their Culture* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1951).





nomically active males in agriculture;<sup>2</sup> Korea with a comparable proportion urban in 1938-39 still had upward of 75 per cent of her males so engaged.

As we have noted, Japanese economic activity in Korea was the impetus for Korean city growth; but this activity was integrated into an empire economy. The profits and output of Korean production were channeled toward the home island of Japan rather than toward reinvestment in Korea. Korean cities developed primarily as administrative and distributive centers for Japanese exploitation of Korean natural resources. There were limited semi-manufacturing and industrial developments in larger cities, but the over-all focus of the economy remained agricultural.

With such an economic background, Korea's cities grew without sufficient industrial expansion to maintain continued growth, or to realize fully the potentials for modernization inherent in city growth. The increase in non-agricultural employment and per capita income—rough indices of economic development—lagged far behind urbanization. Korean city growth, then, was more the result of the "push" from a hard-pressed rural economy than of the "pull" from expanding opportunities in urban areas.

During the five-year post-World-War-II period covered in available South Korean census data, urbanization continued at a rapid rate, but even the limited economic base for city growth provided by Japanese activity had disappeared. That 17.2 per cent of South Korea's people in 1949 were in incorporated cities can be accounted for almost wholly by the fact that cities functioned as refuges for migrants from the poverty of rural regions and for thousands of repatriates

returning to Korea following World War II. An agricultural density approaching 300 per square mile, in addition to the breakdown of rural food-rationing systems, strengthened the tendency for cityward movement. The relief organizations and the employment related to interim military government were almost exclusively in cities.

The occupational structure of Korea's cities shows the dominance of a rural economy, even with a relatively high level of urban residence. After twenty years of Japanese administration, Korean cities in 1930 were still primarily the administrative and distributive centers for an almost self-sufficient rural population. There was relatively little agricultural employment (5 per cent) in urban areas in 1930. However, 60 per cent of Korea's nonagricultural employment was outside the incorporated cities. Figure 2 shows further that every occupational category was more highly represented in the rural than in the urban population in 1930.

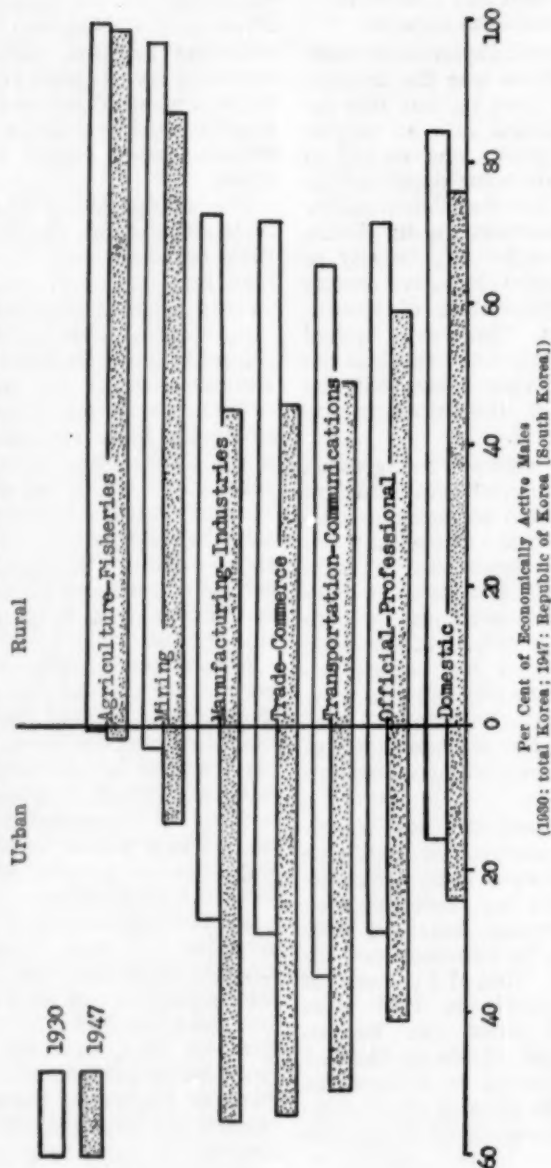
Census inadequacies, however, can account for some of this apparent rural dominance. Under the category of manufacturing-industry, for example, are included both factory-type activity and handicraft employment. This method of enumeration gives equal weight to a worker in a steel processing plant and a maker of bamboo baskets in a rural village.

Further, the census of 1930 does not separate out such cities as Taejon, Chonju, Kwangju, and Haeju, which had populations of well over 20,000 at this time but had not yet been incorporated; thus, data for these cities were not tabulated separately. The urban occupational characteristics of these cities were included in the rural category in the census reports.

In spite of these shortcomings of the data, there is no doubt that in the period prior to the rapid urbanization

<sup>2</sup> Statistisches Reichsamt, *Deutsche Wirtschaftskinde* (Berlin: Reisman Hobbing, 1930), p. 47.

FIGURE 2. PER CENT OF TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALES IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, BY RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENCE, KOREA, 1930-47



Sources: *Census of Korea, 1930*. Summary Volume, Tables 42-43, pp. 144-223. *Republic of Korea Monthly Report of Statistics*, Number 4, 1947, Table 9, pp. 56-57. The term "urban" applies to all incorporated cities of 20,000 or more which were included in the census (17 cities for total Korea in 1930 and 15 cities for South Korea in 1947); the term "rural" applies to the remainder of the population.

of the late 1930's and early 1940's the occupational structure of Korea's cities was geared to administrative rather than industrial activity. The needs of the rural population at this time were supplied by local handicraft and small-scale production utilizing traditional techniques. In the same manner a large part of urban industry was oriented toward maintenance of the urban population; this industry too was influenced heavily by traditional handicraft methods.

There are no data to show changes in the occupational structure during the period of Korea's most rapid urban growth, the years after 1935, but Japanese administrative policies mediated against any basic change. The products of Korea's industrialization were channeled toward empire requirements, not into the satisfaction of native Korean consumer needs. It was advantageous for Japanese administrators to maintain the primitive production of rural areas as a means of satisfying local needs. In this way the rising productive capacity of urban areas could be devoted almost exclusively to materials needed in Japan's plans for empire expansion.

The occupational structure of South Korea in 1947 shows a rise in the proportion of nonagricultural employment which is found in urban areas. However, the South Korean censuses of this period enumerated occupations of the population rather than active employment as such. It can be assumed that a large proportion of those enumerated in urban areas were unemployed or active in temporary work other than what they considered their occupations. South Korea had an occupationally specialized urban population, capable of production which potentially could replace the inefficient handicraft techniques of her large rural population. The five-year period of 1945-50 was too unsettled for this potential to be fully exploited, hampered

as it was by movement of large groups of repatriates, economic difficulties, and political unrest. Though the occupations which form the core of an urban structure became increasingly centered in cities, the large proportion of persons in these occupations who were still in rural areas in 1947 showed a persistence of the rural-agricultural focus of South Korean cities.

After World War II, Korea was in the position of having urbanized rapidly from the impetus of a limited economic development sponsored by the Japanese. The greater part of the profits and accumulated capital from this activity disappeared with the collapse of Japan. It is highly doubtful that the level of urbanization indicated in post-World-War-II censuses will rise with the coming of peace to Korea unless reconstruction administrators can create at least a limited industrial base. As we have noted, one of the strong factors in reaching this degree of urban residence in South Korea is the function of cities as points of relief from a hard-pressed surrounding agricultural region. The cities of South Korea were, however, approaching a saturation point from growth based upon such conditions. Urban growth in Greece serves as the basis for this conclusion. Greece has approximately the same proportion of total population in cities of 100,000 and over as did Korea in 1949. Unlike Korea, in which this level of urbanization was reached through rapid urban expansion in the last twenty years, Greece has maintained a relatively constant proportion of her population in cities of 100,000 and over during this period (1920—10.8%; 1928—15.2%; 1940—12.6%; 1951—12.9%).<sup>4</sup> In Greece the post-World-War-I industrial activity which gave impetus to her urban growth failed to expand. The cities served to attract migrants from densely populated agri-

<sup>4</sup> Computed from official census sources.

cultural areas on the basis of limited employment opportunities in industrial activities, resulting in a high rate of underemployment in urban areas.

As in Korea, the factor of city residence as an escape from a near-subsistence level of living in rural areas aided city growth. Growth in which the relief factor is strong, however, reaches a point at which urban stagnation develops. The relief function of cities, without an expanding industrial base, can foster only a limited ratio of urban to rural population. South Korean urbanization, to judge by the experience of Greece, reached approximately this ratio in 1949.

If, however, through reconstruction activities in South Korea there can be developed a potentially expanding industrial program, the process of urbanization can be expected to continue. In all probability the rate of urban growth will be, even with a limited industrialization, less than that of the decade preceding World War II. South Korean industries will be developed with an already existing large urban population. The economic activity associated with this development will have more than the required labor force available in this urban population. City growth through migration will be slowed, since available employment opportunities in new industries will at first be filled by the unemployed or partially employed urban labor force.

The outlook for the establishment of even a partial industrial base for the Korean economy must be an extremely

pessimistic one. Policies directed toward this goal will be under the constant pressure of an increasing total population. The population of South Korea was far greater in 1949 than that of the whole of Korea in 1925. The population decreases resulting from the recent military action will be of a short-run character. Traditional reproductive customs will again produce a pattern of rapid population increase. We can assume that South Korea faces a future rate of increase upward of 2 per cent per year.<sup>5</sup> Already in the later years of the Japanese occupation in Korea, there was concern over the growing disparity between Korea's subsistence productive capacity and her growing population. This problem will again become acute with the slackening of international relief activity which may come with peace.

The rise of a large urban population in Korea came as a result of the integration of Korea's economy with that of an industrial Japan. As an independent nation, the development of conditions associated with continued urban growth (an agricultural surplus and the rise of specialized industrial activity) is highly unlikely in South Korea. The prospect for her cities is one of little growth, or even decline, as larger and larger numbers of her population turn to traditional agriculture and handicrafts for subsistence.

<sup>5</sup> Irene Taeuber, "The Population Potential of Post-War Korea," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 3 (May, 1946), pp. 289-307.

## TECHNIQUES OF ASSESSING FARM FAMILY VALUES\*

by Eugene A. Wilkening†

### ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to compare four different techniques of assessing farm family values: (1) direct questioning, (2) choosing between alternative expenditures of time or money, (3) verbal ranking of family goals, and (4) behavioral data in the form of material possessions, family expenditures, and social participation. A high degree of association is found between the three verbal indices of family values. The validity of verbal measures is dependent upon the type of value measured. Choices between alternatives in the expenditure of time or money appear to be a reliable as well as valid means of measuring family values which involve such expenditures. Behavioral indices of value are valid only when the behavior is not highly influenced by immediate situational factors.

The notion that values operate as criteria for making choices between alternative courses of action or between action and no action has been developed by both psychologists and sociologists.<sup>1</sup> While the definition of what values are varies with different writers, there is general agreement

\*This paper is based upon a study of acceptance of farm practices as related to family and other group factors, supported by the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station.

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<sup>1</sup>Psychologists who have developed the concept of value as a research tool include: P. E. Vernon and G. W. Allport, "A Test for Personal Values," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVI:3 (1931); A. D. Woodruff, "The Relationship Between Functional and Verbalized Motives," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Feb., 1944, and "The Concept-Value Theory of Human Behavior," *Journal of General Psychology*, XL (Apr., 1949), pp. 141-154; and L. W. Harding, "Experimental Comparisons Between Generalizations and Problems as Indices of Values," *Journal of General Psychology*, XXXVIII (Jan., 1948), pp. 31-50.

Sociologists who have contributed to the theory and study of values include: G. A. Lundberg, "Human Values—A Research Program," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*, Research Studies of the State College of Washington, Pullman, Sept., 1950; Stuart C. Dodd, "How to Measure Human Values," *ibid.*; Robin M. Williams, *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), chap. X; Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretation* (Durham,

that values: (1) are abstract concepts inferred from behavior, (2) operate to influence a selection of the available means and ends of action, and (3) have either favorable or unfavorable connotations for the well-being of the individual or of the group. There is also general agreement that values can be effectively studied or inferred through the observation of choices among the means or goals of action, in either actual or hypothetical situations.<sup>2</sup>

Without attempting to demonstrate the soundness of the use of the concept of value in understanding behavior, an attempt is made here to present and to compare several techniques in assessing certain value orientations of farm operators and their wives. The data used for this purpose were obtained as part of a study of the relationships of family organization and values to the acceptance of change in farm technology.<sup>3</sup>

Since there have been few previous attempts to measure values of farm

N. C.; Duke Univ. Press, 1950); and Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951).

<sup>2</sup>See particularly Vernon and Allport, *op. cit.*; Woodruff, *op. cit.*; and Harding, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup>See "Change in Farm Technology as Related to Familism, Family Decision Making and Family Integration," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (Feb., 1954), pp. 29-37.



families, this study is necessarily exploratory in nature. The observations presented are to be taken as suggestive rather than definitive. It was conceived that the values of farm operators and their wives with respect to family matters provide a basis of motivation for the acceptance or rejection of changes in farm technology. Decisions pertaining to changes in farm technology are likely to be influenced by family considerations when the family provides a major share of the labor and capital for the farm.

At this point, the question arises as to what level of value should be studied.<sup>4</sup> Should one attempt to get at the ultimate ends or goals of the farm operator and his family? Or, should one attempt to determine the values more specific to decisions involving the acceptance of change in farm technology? While no attempt was made to focus upon either one exclusively, more attention was given to the ultimate goals of the family. The values placed upon security in landownership and upon education for children are regarded as ultimate goals for the family. Values more specific to decisions involving acceptance of change in farm technology include the value placed upon efficiency and the value placed upon conservation.

Interview schedules providing the data for this paper were obtained from 170 farm operators and their wives in Sauk County, located in south-central Wisconsin. The design of the study required that the sample be selected to eliminate certain extraneous variations. The sample was selected to include only families having the following characteristics: (1) had owned the farm three years or longer, (2) husband and wife both living, (3) at least one child 12 to 19 years of age, (4) three-fourths or more of family income

from farming in 1951, and (5) neither husband nor wife had serious physical or language difficulties.

Family values were assessed by five types of questions (1) direct questions as to how much of certain items was desired; (2) asking the informant to choose between alternative uses of time and money; (3) verbal ranking of five family goals; (4) open-end questions pertaining to family goals;<sup>5</sup> and (5) questions on material possessions, family expenditures, social participation, and education. Agreement or disagreement with generalized or specific statements was not used as a measure of value in this study.<sup>6</sup>

No attempt was made to assess all important family values. The study was limited to a consideration of those values which are likely to have some bearing upon the motivation to accept changes in farm technology, and which lend themselves to study through formal interviews. These include the value placed upon: education for children, security in farm ownership free of debt, modern material conveniences in the home, social status, informal social contact, and recreation for the family. Other values were indicated in the responses to the open-end questions, such as the value placed upon hard work and thrift as being important for success in farming. Since these are values pertaining more to the farm than to the family, no special attempt is made to treat them here.

#### DIRECT QUESTIONS

Direct questioning as to amount desired was employed as a means of indicating value placed upon education for children. Responses to the question, "How much education do you want

<sup>4</sup> The complete data on response to open-end questions are not presented in this paper.

<sup>6</sup> For the comparison of this method with response to problem situations as a measure of value, see the article by L. W. Harding cited above.

<sup>4</sup> See A. D. Woodruff, "The Roles of Value in Human Behavior," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXXVI (Aug., 1952), pp. 97-107.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY SCHOOL LEVEL OF CHILDREN AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION DESIRED FOR CHILDREN BY HUSBAND

School level of children	Level of education desired for children by husband				All families
	Less than high school	High school	Some go to college	All go to college	
At least 1 child dropped out before finishing high school*.....	10	33	7	4	54
No children dropped out, and none of college age in family, or none who have completed high school.....	3	49	16	7	75
No children dropped out, 1 or more completed high school, but none attended college.....	0	13	15	4	32
No children dropped out, and 1 or more in college or have attended college.....	1	2	1	5	9
All families.....	14	97	39	20	170

\*Does not include those dropped due to recognized mental deficiency.

NOTE:  $\chi^2 = 23.73$ , with 4 degrees of freedom;  $P < .001$ .

your children to have?" were consistent with other verbal indications of the importance of education, discussed below, and were highly associated with actual school level of children. Both husbands' and wives' responses to this question were associated with school level of children, at the 1-per-cent-level of significance. As shown in Table 1, those who desired high school or less for their children were most likely to have children who had dropped out of school before finishing high school, and, conversely, those who desired college for some or all of their children were most likely to have one or more children in college. The coefficient of association of the husband's response with school level of children, corrected for a 3x3 table,<sup>7</sup> is +.47, while that for the wife is +.42.

Direct questions to obtain indications of other values were not used. Other

values do not lend themselves as readily to assessment by direct questioning. For example, it would be meaningless to ask a person how much "security" he desired for himself or for his family.

#### RESPONSE TO HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS

A second method of assessing value orientations was that of presenting a series of hypothetical situations in which the informant was asked to make a choice. Eleven such situations were presented (Table 2).

Only four of the husbands and none of the wives refused to respond to these questions; a few more indicated that they thought the questions did not make sense or did not apply to them. The large majority responded to them sincerely, many indicating that they had been faced with similar situations. Usually the responses included a rationalization for the choice made, but these were not recorded.

An attempt was made to present realistic situations in which a choice had to be made between spending time

<sup>7</sup> See C. C. Peters and W. R. Van Voorhis, *Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940), p. 398.

TABLE 2. HUSBANDS' AND WIVES' RESPONSES TO HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS INVOLVING A CHOICE BETWEEN FARM AND FAMILY ITEMS

Hypothetical situation	Husbands (N = 163*)	Wives (N = 170)
	Number	Number
1. Suppose you had to choose between buying milk-cooling equipment and buying a home freezer for the house. Which would you buy first?—		
Mechanical milk-cooling equipment.....	85	113
Home freezer .....	65	52
Don't know .....	13	5
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	34	30
2. Suppose you wished to send your daughter or son to college and, at the same time, needed to buy more cattle to utilize your feed and labor. Which would you do first?—		
Buy the cattle.....	55	70
Send child to college.....	77	81
Don't know .....	31	19
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	62	70
3. Suppose you don't have all the field machinery you need but have enough to get along, and, at the same time, the family would like some new furniture in the house. What would you do?—		
Buy the machinery first.....	94	144
Buy the furniture first.....	39	21
Don't know .....	30	5
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	55	18
4. Suppose you want to put in water bowls in the barn, and, at the same time, the family wants a bathroom in the house. Would you?—		
Put in the water bowls first.....	103	95
Put in the bathroom first.....	43	66
Don't know .....	16	9
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	39	34
5. Suppose you needed to paint the barn and outbuildings, and the family wanted to take a trip or vacation. Would you?—		
Paint the barn and outbuildings.....	132	144
Take the family on a trip or vacation.....	17	20
Don't know .....	13	6
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	37	35
6. Suppose you have a son who is interested in starting a project (4-H or voc. agr.) of his own, but you know it will interfere with his help with other farm work. Would you?—		
Not encourage him to start the project.....	19	19
Encourage him to start the project.....	134	142
Don't know .....	9	9
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	23	22

\*Number responding. For items 4 to 6, only 162 responded.

TABLE 2. HUSBANDS' AND WIVES' RESPONSES TO HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS INVOLVING A CHOICE BETWEEN FARM AND FAMILY ITEMS—Continued

Hypothetical situation	Husbands (N = 163*)	Wives (N = 170)
	Number	Number
7. Suppose you have a son over 16 years of age but who hasn't finished high school. He would like to finish high school and he is interested in farming. You need him to help you on the farm. Would you?—		
Encourage him to stay at home and help on farm.....	17	14
Encourage him to finish high school.....	138	151
Don't know .....	7	5
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	18	14
8. Suppose you have a son who wishes to take a college short course in farming, yet this will mean harder work for you. Would you?—		
Not encourage him to take the short course.....	34	21
Encourage him to take the short course.....	118	142
Don't know .....	10	7
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	21	24
9. Suppose you have a child who wants to take a week off to go to camp during the summer. Would you?—		
Not encourage him to go.....	35	17
Encourage him to go.....	115	144
Don't know .....	12	9
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	30	24
10. Suppose you owe something on your farm. You are paid up for the year, and yet you need to purchase additional machinery to handle the farm work on time. Would you?—		
Pay ahead on the mortgage.....	54	39
Buy the additional machinery.....	100	127
Don't know .....	9	4
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	41	29
11. Suppose you owe something on your farm. You are paid up for the year, and you need more milk cows to utilize your feed and labor. Would you?—		
Pay ahead on the mortgage.....	29	24
Buy additional milk cows.....	128	139
Don't know .....	6	7
Would it be hard for you to decide? ("Yes" answers).....	32	24

\*Number responding. For items 4 to 9, only 162 responded.

or money for family interests and spending them for the farm. Of course, it must be recognized that the farm items were frequently regarded as means to family objectives, and to this extent the choices probably indicate more immediate values (influencing

choice of means) rather than ultimate values. It is probable, also, that the informant's choice is determined by the role he or she assumes at the moment of choice—i.e., whether that of family head or that of farm operator. Conflict in these roles was evident in the fact

that 22 per cent of all husbands' choices were checked as being hard to decide and 27 per cent of all wives' choices were so checked. A more valid indication of values could likely have been obtained by presenting a wider range of situations in which the choices indicated the same level of value. The classification of the reasons for choices would have provided another basis of assessing the more ultimate or general values.\*

Responses to the hypothetical situations were used singly, jointly, and as items of indexes. No attempt was made to develop numerical scales composed of the responses, although this might have been feasible with a larger number of choice situations.

A comparison of husband and wife responses to the choices reveals a high degree of agreement. On the average, the husband and wife agreed in two-thirds of their responses. The percentage of agreement ranged from 45 per cent in the choice between sending the child to college and buying the cattle, to 82 per cent in the choice between encouraging a son over 16 years old to stay at home and encouraging him to finish high school. The agreement of husbands' and wives' choices indicates that the responses do reflect family as well as individual orientations.

Furthermore, it might be expected that, on the basis of individual interest, wives would be more likely to choose certain responses than husbands, e.g., the buying of household equipment before farm machinery. This was not always the case, however. For example, only 12 per cent of the wives chose buying furniture first, while 23 per

cent of the husbands gave that response. A possible explanation may be that wives tended to regard the choice of machinery as a means to their final goal of obtaining household items, while more husbands may have responded to these alternatives as the goals themselves. On some questions, the wives responded in favor of family values more frequently than the husbands. They favored putting in a bathroom instead of water bowls in the barn, encouraging the son to attend a college farm short course, and encouraging a child to attend a summer camp.

#### VERBAL RANKING OF FAMILY GOALS

After responses were obtained to the hypothetical situations, each informant (husband and wife) was asked to rank five items according to which "means most" to him or her. This was done by handing the informant five cards, on each of which a family goal was stated, and having him place the goals in the order of his preference. The results are presented in Table 3. While "having farm well equipped" is more a goal in farming (and therefore a means value) than a goal for the family, it is in keeping with the items in the hypothetical situations and was therefore included in the ranking.

"Owning my farm free of debt" and "providing my children a good education" were ranked highest by both husbands and wives, with very little difference between the two items. Both husbands and wives tended to rank "having my farm well equipped," third; "having modern conveniences in the home," fourth; and "providing myself and my family with an opportunity for travel and recreation," fifth. The consistency of the ranking of both husbands and wives is further indication that this ranking is heavily influenced by family rather than by purely individual considerations.

Tests of association between the verbal ranking and the response to the

\* Reasons for making hypothetical choices were used by Mattie Pattison as the main basis of assessing family values in "Implications for Education in the Relationship Between Expressed Values of Certain Farm Families and Their Expenditures for Living" (doctoral dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1945).



TABLE 3. AVERAGE RANK GIVEN FIVE FAMILY GOALS BY HUSBANDS AND WIVES

Family goals	Average rank	
	Husbands	Wives
Providing my children a good education.....	2.08	2.01
Owning my farm free of debt.....	2.04	2.05
Having my farm well equipped.....	2.89	2.83
Having modern conveniences in my home.....	3.23	3.47
Providing myself and my family with an opportunity for travel and recreation .....	4.77	4.65

open-end questions were made in two instances. Husbands' ranking of education as first or second is not significantly associated (5 per cent level) with giving a similar value to education of children in response to the open-end question. Yet, of 38 who gave education as a goal for the family as an open-end response, 28 ranked education for the children as first or second. Husbands' ranking of "owning my farm free of debt" as first or second is significantly associated with giving a similar response to the open-end question pertaining to goals in farming.

Ranking of family goals is also consistent with responses to a direct question in the case of education of children. Husband's ranking of education for children as first or second is significantly (0.1 per cent level) associated with amount of education desired for children, given in response to a direct question.

Responses indicated that the ranking of family goals was frequently arbitrary. There was the feeling that all of these constituted "desirable" family goals and that it was difficult to say which should be placed ahead of the others. Also, there were indications that "having my farm well equipped" was not comparable with the other goals in that it pertained to the farm rather than to the family. For the rankings of family goals to be meaningful, they must be at a comparable level, i.e., refer either to the ultimate

goals or to the choice of means. Secondly, they must have the same reference—i.e., the individual, the family, or the farm.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESPONSE TO HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS AND VERBAL RANKING OF FAMILY GOALS

The responses to the hypothetical situations were generally consistent with the ranking of family goals. The husbands' responses to the three situations involving education of children and their ranking of education as first or second among five family goals are highly associated (Table 4). Husbands who favored education for the children in the choice between education and work on the farm also ranked education for the children high among five family goals.

Husbands' choice in favor of paying ahead on the mortgage instead of buying more milk cows or buying more machinery is significantly associated with the ranking of "owning my farm free of debt" as first or second (0.1 per cent level). Those who chose paying ahead on the mortgage in both or in either situation were most likely to rank "owning my farm free of debt" as first or second among five family goals (Table 5). The wives' responses to the situations involving paying ahead on the mortgage are not significantly associated with their ranking of "owning my farm free of debt."

The choices in the hypothetical sit-

TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBANDS BY NUMBER OF HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS IN WHICH THEY FAVORED EDUCATION OF CHILDREN OVER FARM NEEDS, AND BY THEIR RANKING OF EDUCATION AS A FAMILY GOAL

Ranking of "providing my children with a good education"	Of the three situations, number in which education was favored:				All husbands
	Three	Two	One	None	
	<i>Number of cases</i>				
First or second.....	48	40	19	2	109
Third, fourth, or fifth.....	10	19	20	12	61
All husbands.....	58	59	39	14	170

NOTE:  $\chi^2 = 28.26$ , 3 degrees of freedom;  $P < .001$ .

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBANDS BY NUMBER OF HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS IN WHICH THEY FAVORED PAYING AHEAD ON THE MORTGAGE OVER BUYING ADDITIONAL COWS OR MACHINERY, AND BY THEIR RANKING OF A MORTGAGE-FREE FARM AS A FAMILY GOAL

Ranking of "owning my farm free of debt"	Of the two situations, number in which a mortgage-free farm was favored:			All husbands
	Two	One	None	
	<i>Number of cases</i>			
First or second.....	17	36	57	110
Third, fourth, or fifth.....	2	7	51	60
All husbands.....	19	43	108	170

NOTE:  $\chi^2 = 18.64$ , 2 degrees of freedom;  $P < .001$ .

uations are not consistent with the ranking of other family goals. Neither husbands' nor wives' responses for the three situations of choice between farm equipment and household furnishings are significantly associated with the verbal ranking of "having modern conveniences in the home."

Also, neither husbands' nor wives' responses to the situations relating to travel for the family and sending children to camp are significantly associated with the ranking of "providing myself and family with opportunity for travel and recreation" as one of the first four of the five alternatives. Only a small number favored travel and recreation in either type of response.

#### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VERBAL AND BEHAVIORAL MEASURES OF VALUE

While no attempt was made to validate in any refined sense the verbal indications of family values, certain behavioral data provide a basis for indicating the predictive value of the verbal measures. One comparison of verbal response and behavioral data—the relationship between response to direct questioning on amount of education desired for children and actual school level attained by children—has already been presented.

Responses to hypothetical situations involving education of children are also predictive of actual school level of

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBANDS BY NUMBER OF HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS IN WHICH THEY FAVORED EDUCATION OF CHILDREN, AND BY THE SCHOOL LEVEL OF THEIR CHILDREN

School level of children	Of the three situations, number in which education was favored:				All husbands
	Three	Two	One	None	
	Number of cases				
At least 1 child dropped out before finishing high school*	10	17	18	9	54
No children dropped out, and none of college age in family, or none who have completed high school	28	30	12	5	75
No children dropped out, 1 or more completed high school, but none attended college	15	11	6	0	32
No children dropped out, and 1 or more in college or have attended	5	1	3	0	9
All families	58	59	39	14	170

\*Does not include those dropped due to recognized mental deficiency.

NOTE:  $\bar{X}^2 = 16.78$ , 4 degrees of freedom;  $P < .002$ .

children. Table 6 shows that those who favored education in the hypothetical situations were less likely to have children who dropped out before finishing high school and more likely to have one or more children in college (significant at 0.2 per cent level). The coefficient of contingency for these two variables is +.41, corrected for a 3 x 3 table.

On the other hand, responses to the choice between buying farm equipment or household items are not predictive of the possession of actual household conveniences and improvements. Neither husbands' nor wives' choices in favor of the household items are significantly associated with an index of housing and material possessions.<sup>9</sup>

Also, the husband's ranking of "having modern conveniences in the home"

as first or second is not associated with the index of housing and material possessions. While the wife's ranking of the same item is significantly associated with this index at the 5 per cent level of probability, the association is not a linear one. No association obtains when the index of housing and material possessions is divided into two categories of high and low.

#### BEHAVIORAL ITEMS AS MEASURES OF FAMILY VALUES

Certain behavioral items were regarded as better measures of value than verbal indications. School level attained by children and school level attained by husband and wife are behavioral indices of the value placed upon education. It is recognized, however, that many other factors than the value placed upon education influence school level, particularly that of husband and wife. The logical conclusion is that the verbal indices of value placed upon education for children are more valid than the behavioral indices.

<sup>9</sup> This index of housing and material possessions is composed of 4 items pertaining to size and arrangement of house and 11 items of household conveniences and furnishings.

However, behavioral data provide the main measures of the value placed upon social status, upon social contact, and upon travel and recreation. Extent of formal social participation is an indication of status and prestige aspirations, while informal social participation is taken as an indication of the desire for social contact on a primary group level.

That formal and informal social contact are separate variables is supported by the fact that level of formal social participation<sup>10</sup> is not significantly associated with number of families visited. On the other hand, level of formal participation is associated (2 per cent level, three degrees of freedom) with participation of husband and wife in extended trips, vacations, picnics and fairs. Those with highest formal participation were more likely to have gone to picnics and fairs and to have taken extended trips or vacations during the year preceding the study. Also, level of formal social participation is positively associated (1 per cent level) with participation of children in camps and vacations.

The types of informal social participation are also differentially associated with each other. Participation of husband and wife in extended trips and vacations is positively associated with participation of children in similar activities. But, there is no association between husband and wife participation in such activities and the number of families visited in the month preceding the study.

A ranking of items according to amount of money spent on each during the preceding five years, after ordinary farm and household operating expenses were paid, was another type of be-

havioral measure of family value. The wife was asked to indicate the first, second, and third items in the following list, according to the amount of money spent on each in the past five years:

- Land, or paying off debt
- Machinery, livestock, and farm improvements
- Automobiles
- Home improvements, conveniences, and furnishings
- Recreation and travel
- Education of children
- Doctor and hospital services

They were then asked, "Have you spent much for other items?" These were checked.

Responses indicated that in 85 per cent of the families the greatest expenditures were either for farm equipment, livestock, and improvements, or for land; about three-fifths spent most for farm equipment, livestock, and improvements. Only 8 per cent said they spent most for home improvements, although almost one-fourth gave this item as second or third in amount of money spent during the preceding five years.

The small numbers giving home items (as opposed to farm items) as the object of most expenditure make this type of response somewhat inadequate as a measure of family value. Furthermore, the type of expenditure is highly influenced by the age of the operator. Young farmers tended to spend most for land or paying off debt, while more often the older farmers spent most for farm equipment, livestock, and improvements. Most of the younger operators gave home improvements as the second most important type of expenditure.

Moreover, there is no significant association between the items on which the family spent most and such measures as the index of housing and material conveniences, the husband's

<sup>10</sup> "Level of formal social participation" as used here is an index composed of membership, frequency of attendance, and official positions of husband or wife in farm organizations, homemakers club, church, and other organizations.

ranking of "having a well-equipped farm," and the husband's response to hypothetical situations involving the alternatives of paying ahead on the mortgage or buying additional livestock or machinery.

#### OBSERVATIONS WITH RESPECT TO TECHNIQUES OF ASSESSING FAMILY VALUES

Although very tentative, certain conclusions are drawn with respect to the various methods of assessing farm family values and their interrelationships: (1) There is a high degree of association between the verbal indices of family values—responses to direct questions, responses to hypothetical situations, ranking of family goals, and responses to open-end questions about family goals. (2) The use of direct questions as indices of family value is limited to those value areas in which aspirational levels are fairly distinct, as in the case of education of children. (3) Responses to hypothetical situations provide both reliable and valid indications of values. Their reliability and validity can be increased by extending the range and the number of situations presented. The rationaliza-

tions which respondents give for their responses might be used to add to the validity of the responses, as indications of value orientation. (4) The ranking of family goals is likely a better indicator of specific value orientation than response to open-end questions, although the latter is a better indicator of more general value orientations. (5) The ranking of family goals is a valid indicator only for values of the same level of generality, i.e., ultimate values on the one hand or values influencing the choice of means on the other. (6) Behavioral indices provide reliable and valid measures of values when the behavior is not highly influenced by situational factors. This appears to hold for possession of home conveniences, for formal social participation as an indicator of value placed upon social status, and for informal social contact as an indicator of value placed upon face-to-face social relationships. Amount of money expended for different purposes, however, is not likely to be a valid indication of values, since age of operator and other situational factors influence such expenditures to a high degree.



## ECONOMIC STATUS DIFFERENTIALS WITHIN SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE\*

by C. Arnold Anderson†

### ABSTRACT

Quantitative indexes are utilized to delineate the assorted distribution patterns of income, landholding, size of enterprise, control over labor, and possession of household facilities among farmers in four southern states. Inequalities, on most of the measures used, were least in North Carolina and greatest in Mississippi, with Georgia and South Carolina intermediate. Race differentials, specifically, tended to be sharpest in the last two states. Differences between tenure groups varied among the states in the same order. An extreme inequality within Mississippi reflected mainly the presence of a small elite. Possession of a high socio-economic status tended to reflect race more than tenure or state of residence. Among whites, tenure outweighed state in determining high position, while among Negroes the opposite was true. Low positions tended to depend upon state of residence more than upon tenure or race. In most respects, differentials among the farmers of Iowa (used for comparison) were markedly less than those among white or Negro farmers of the four southern states.

The salience of economic elements in the status structure of modern societies is a central theme of the sociological theory of stratification. Within American society, the South is routinely singled out as the region where status differentials are greatest and most rigidly maintained. Many sociologists label the South as a caste society, at least in those rural areas with large Negro populations. Certainly the southern system of stratification emerged from and remains articulated with, if not upheld by, the distinctive relationships within agriculture.

The importance of exploring the economic elements in southern stratification is highlighted by three recent general studies of the South. Myrdal and his associates identified the economic sphere as the one in which white resistance to Negro advance was least, while at the same time it was in economic matters that Negroes most de-

sired an end to discrimination.<sup>1</sup> Both Key and Heard<sup>2</sup> in their analyses of political life found that the underpinnings of the traditional political pattern were in those rural areas where survivals of the plantation system were most vigorous, and that the factors undermining this pattern lay mainly in the urban economy.

While three excellent field studies<sup>3</sup> have portrayed the southern status system in local settings, the validity of conclusions derived from these studies has not been sufficiently tested. The present article complements these ethnographic surveys, supporting certain conclusions but questioning others. By the use of socio-economic indices of status which provide relatively unambiguous quantitative distributions, we may sharpen up generalizations and

\* V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1949); A. Heard, *A Two-Party South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952).

<sup>2</sup> J. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1937); H. Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (New York: Viking Press, 1939); A. Davis and B. B. and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

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<sup>1</sup> G. Myrdal et al., *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944), pp. 60-67.

disentangle a few of the multiform patterns of stratification.

The present study explores the distribution of various economic and authority aspects of status among the farm populations of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Mississippi, with Iowa data and some regional comparisons introduced for contrast. Among the indexes used are income, landholding, size of enterprise, control over labor, and possession of household facilities usually regarded as essential to "American living."<sup>4</sup>

Certain key questions were posed: In what aspects of southern farm life are inequalities most extreme, and how are these inequalities structured? In which respects are race contrasts largest, and in what areas of life do differences within races match those between races? How closely is tenure position reflected in other aspects of status? How homogeneous is the rural South in its status structures? The presentation focuses upon distributions of status traits within and between races, tenure groups, and states, providing clues to caste versus class elements within states as well as differences in status patterns among the states.

#### INCOME DIFFERENTIALS

Scale of operations is basic in distinguishing among farmers, and aggregate farm production flows disproportionately from the larger enterprises. Lorenz charts<sup>5</sup> show that in North Carolina and Iowa the top 5 per cent of farms accounted for a quarter of the

1949 aggregate sales (Table 1,A). In the other three southern states concentration was still greater, the top 5 per cent in Mississippi making nearly 40 per cent of the aggregate sales in that state. The West North Central Region resembled Iowa and the South Atlantic and East South Central regions resembled Mississippi.

The top third of Iowa farms turned out two-thirds of the gross product, while in the southern states the top third sold about three-fourths of the total. The third of farms at the lower end of the gross-income scale furnished less than a tenth of the total yield, and in the Carolinas their share was even smaller; thus the ranking of the states in degree of inequality at the bottom is the reverse of that at the top of the distributions.<sup>6</sup> Within the group of strictly commercial farms,<sup>7</sup> inequality was slightly less extreme.

The distribution of net incomes among the nation's spending units may be used as a bench mark in assessing these distributions. Roughly, the top 5 per cent of the nation's spending units receive a fourth of the national income, the top third receive two-thirds of the national aggregate, and the bottom third receive a little over a tenth. The Iowa gross-farm-income distribution closely matches that of personal net incomes in the nation as a whole. In North Carolina, concentration at the top is about the same on the basis of all farms; but for commercial farms only it is somewhat less. In the other southern states, concentration at the top is consistently much greater for gross farm income than is the case with the national income distribution. As for the bottom third of units, the deviation of noncommercial

<sup>4</sup> The data come from the 1950 censuses of agriculture (reporting 1949 production), population, and housing. Detailed citations are too numerous to publish, but can be supplied. Census data for whole states or segments of population (for example, Georgia Negro owners) lack the full-bodied particularity of community surveys, but they have the advantage of definiteness and broader coverage.

<sup>5</sup> See footnote \* to Table 1.

<sup>6</sup> Since these figures are relative, they do not imply lower absolute levels at the bottom in North Carolina than in Mississippi; the reverse is the case.

<sup>7</sup> For definition of "commercial farms," see footnotes to Table 1.

TABLE 1. CONCENTRATION OF FARM PRODUCTION, CONTROL OF LAND, AND CONTROL OVER LABOR,  
IN THE FARM POPULATIONS OF FOUR SOUTHERN STATES AND IOWA, 1950

Indices of production, land control, and labor control	Top 5% of enterprises, on each variable					Low 33% of enterprises, on each variable				
	North Carolina	South Carolina	Georgia	Missis- sippi	Iowa	North Carolina	South Carolina	Georgia	Missis- sippi	Iowa
<i>Per cent of aggregate in each group</i>										
A. Lorenz distributions* among farms: <sup>1</sup>										
1. All farms:										
Acres in farms.....	30	41	40	40	14	7	5	5	5	12
Cropland harvested.....	16	23	21	28	12	15	12	14	14	14
Gross sales.....	24	34	31	39	23	4	5	9	6	8
2. Commercial farms:										
Gross sales.....	19	31	29	38	24	11	8	8	9	11
B. Distributions among commercial farms classified by gross sales: <sup>1</sup>										
Acres in farms.....	15	27	24	30	11	27	20	18	19	22
Cropland harvested.....	14	22	18	29	11	21	19	18	19	18
Value of land and buildings.....	15	26	23	38	11	22	17	13	15	18
Acres owned by operator.....	15	28	26	29	10	30	18	16	19	23
Expenses for hired labor.....	35	54	52	76	26	10	6	5	2	9
C. Lorenz distributions among all operating units: <sup>2</sup>										
Cropper farms.....	70	60	65	73	—	0	0	0	0	—
All farms.....	18	18	16	29	—	25	24	25	22	—

D. Lorenz distributions among multiple units:<sup>2</sup>

Acres in farms.....	28	28	33	33	—	10	8	8	7	—
Cropland harvested.....	25	28	28	40	—	10	9	9	7	—
Cropper farms.....	20	23	22	38	—	19	16	17	9	—

<sup>2</sup>Lorenz distributions (A, C, and D) deal with a single variable only; the enterprises are arrayed in order of the magnitude of the variable and cumulative percentages of enterprises from the top (or bottom) of the array are compared as to the percentages they include of the aggregate of the variable for all the enterprises. In section B, farms are arrayed by the dollar value of gross sales, and the cumulative percentages by sales are then matched against the proportions of the aggregates of the other variables that they control; the closer the correlation between sales and the other variables, the more closely these figures approximate Lorenz distributions.

<sup>3</sup>The term "farm" follows the 1900 census definition. "Commercial farms" are all farms with gross sales above \$1,200 and those with sales between \$250 and \$1,200 provided the farm operator worked off the farm less than 100 days and provided that total nonfarm income of the farm family was less than the total value of products sold.

<sup>4</sup>"Operating units" are here defined to include all "multiple-unit" enterprises and all non-cropper farms not part of multiple units. The North Carolina figures exclude a small area in the west corner of the state where multiple units are virtually absent; less than 1 per cent of the North Carolina farms are in that area.

<sup>5</sup>A "multiple unit" is a landlord-holding of two or more subunits (census-defined farms), one of which may consist of land not assigned to croppers or other tenants (home farm), but the other(s) of which must represent land assigned to croppers. Land assigned to tenants other than croppers is not part of a multiple-unit operation.

farms in the Carolinas pulls the share of the low units down to less than half that shown by the national net income figures; but, for all farms in the other states and for commercial farms in all five states, the share of the lowest third in aggregate gross farm income is only slightly below the share of the nation's low-income families in the national aggregate of personal net incomes.

A Lorenz analysis cannot be derived for each race from the 1949 data, and the 1939 figures are not wholly comparable since the value of home-consumed products was included. In 1939, concentration of total production was much smaller for Negro than for white farms. The top 5 per cent of white farmers produced about a third of the total from white-operated farms (in North Carolina only a quarter), while the upper group of Negroes in each state produced only a sixth of the Negro aggregate. For the two races combined, regional differences in degree of inequality of gross farm income appear to have remained stable over the past decade, but inequality patterns vary among the southern states more today than before the war. The readjustments of southern agriculture have had a different impact upon economic patterns in each state.

In actual dollars, the average southern white operator's farm grosses about a fourth as much as an Iowa farm—two against eight thousand dollars—and there is not much variation among the four states in the mean gross income of white farmers. In three of the four southern states, average sales of white farmers were about 1.7 times those of Negroes (Table 2,D). In North Carolina, however, the Negro average is higher than the white, due no doubt to the numerous self-sufficient white farms, the lesser spread of whites at the top, and the importance of tobacco farming among Negroes. So far as one can compare 1939 with 1949 data, the Negroes appear to have gained on the

whites in the Carolinas and held their relative position in Georgia, but not to have kept up with white gains in Mississippi.

However, comparison of means can be misleading. Two groups of farms may have the same mean income yet differ in median levels, if one group has a few large farms and a mass of poor ones while the other group has less concentration at the top or a small distinctive minority at the bottom and a sprinkling of units along the scale. To deal with this complexity in the inequality picture, one may compare gross incomes at different percentile points. Such an examination reveals differences in state and race patterns that generate diverse socio-economic status structures.

To identify any possible group of giant farms, one looks at the top percentile level. Among the whites, North Carolina and Iowa farmers at the top percentile produced  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as much as those at the top decile in the same states; in Georgia the ratio was 4:1, in South Carolina 5:1, and in Mississippi  $7\frac{1}{2}$ :1 (Table 2,A,1). The pattern was the same among commercial farmers alone. If we relate the top decile to the top quartile farm (Table 3,A,2), the ratios are about 1.5:1 in North Carolina and 2:1 in the other states. Clearly the distinctive feature of the Mississippi distribution is concentration at the extreme top. Unpublished data in the author's files show that only above the top decile does the output of Mississippi whites match that of North Carolina whites, and only above the top 3 per cent level does it match that of the corresponding South Carolina and Georgia whites. Even among Negroes in Mississippi a small group stand out from the main body of farmers (Table 3,A,2 and B,2).

Much of the excess of white over Negro mean gross income (outside North Carolina) is attributable to a small number of huge white-operated



TABLE 2. RACE DIFFERENCES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS TRAITS:  
FARM POPULATIONS OF FOUR SOUTHERN STATES

Socio-economic indices	Ratios for each state			
	North Carolina	South Carolina	Georgia	Missis- sippi
<b>A. White-to-Negro ratios at top percentile:</b>				
Cropland: All farms.....	1.7	3.5	2.4	5.2
Gross sales: Commercial farms*.....	1.8	5.0	3.9	7.2
Household net incomes.....	1.9	2.7	2.5	2.3
<b>B. White-to-Negro ratios at top quartile:</b>				
Cropland: All farms.....	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.3
Gross sales: Commercial farms*.....	1.0	1.6	1.8	1.4
Household net incomes.....	1.8	2.4	2.3	2.1
<b>C. White-to-Negro ratios at median:</b>				
Cropland: All farms.....	.8	1.1	.9	1.2
Gross sales: Commercial farms*.....	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.1
Household net incomes.....	1.9	2.6	2.3	2.3
<b>D. White-to-Negro ratios at mean:</b>				
Cropland: All farms.....	1.0	1.5	1.2	1.8
Gross sales: All farms*.....	.9	1.7	1.7	1.8
Farm valuations: All farms.....	1.6	2.8	2.5	3.4
<b>E. White-to-Negro ratios of percentages:</b>				
Commercial farms—gross sales:				
Over \$10,000 .....	6.7	42.8	27.0	42.8
Over \$ 5,000 .....	1.8	7.2	6.6	11.0
Farm owners .....	2.2	2.1	2.8	3.1
Less than .75 persons per room.....	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.9
Telephones .....	7.9	14.4	13.6	24.6
Piped water supply (inside or outside)...	5.0	5.4	4.4	4.0
Electric washing machines.....	5.2	17.1	20.8	24.0
Electricity .....	1.5	1.9	1.8	2.5
Automobiles .....	1.4	1.7	1.4	2.2
<b>F. Negro-to-white ratios of percentages:</b>				
Commercial farms—gross sales under				
\$1,200 .....	1.0	1.6	1.6	1.2
Cropper farmers.....	3.4	3.0	3.4	4.7
Hired hands (per cent in adult farm				
labor force).....	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.0
Dilapidated houses.....	2.4	2.4	2.0	2.3
More than 1.5 persons per room.....	3.0	3.0	2.8	3.0
No toilet facilities.....	1.4	1.5	.9	1.0

\*The figures for "all farms" at the top percentiles and top quartiles run slightly lower in each state than those for "commercial farms" alone, with the differences greatest in Mississippi; the rankings of the states are the same for either kind of unit. Mean values are available for all farms but not for commercial farms alone; medians for all farms are less reliable than those for commercial farms.

TABLE 3. INEQUALITIES WITHIN RACES AND BETWEEN TENURE GROUPS IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS TRAITS: FARM POPULATIONS OF FOUR SOUTHERN STATES

Socio-economic indices, race groups, and tenure comparisons	Ratios for each state			
	North Carolina	South Carolina	Georgia	Mississippi
<b>A. Ratios of top percentile to top decile:</b>				
1. White: Cropland—all farms.....	3.0	4.6	3.6	6.8
Gross sales—commercial farms..	2.6	4.8	3.7	7.3
Household net incomes.....	2.3	2.3	2.6	2.7
2. Negro: Cropland—all farms.....	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0
Gross sales—commercial farms..	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.0
Household net incomes.....	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.3
<b>B. Ratios of top decile to top quartile:</b>				
1. White: Cropland—all farms.....	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.7
Gross sales—commercial farms..	1.5	1.8	1.9	2.1
Household net incomes.....	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.7
2. Negro: Cropland—all farms.....	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.4
Gross sales—commercial farms..	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.5
Household net incomes.....	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.7
<b>C. Ratios of owner mean to cropper mean—commercial farms:</b>				
1. White: Acres in farm.....	2.7	3.5	3.6	6.0
Cropland.....	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.6
Farm valuation.....	1.5	3.3	2.4	4.3
Gross sales.....	0.9	1.8	1.7	2.2
2. Negro: Acres in farm.....	1.8	2.3	2.5	5.0
Cropland.....	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.7
Farm valuation.....	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.4
Gross sales.....	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.8
<b>D. Ratios of owner to cropper in gross sales at specified percentiles—commercial farms:</b>				
1. White: Top percentile.....	1.7	5.2	2.7	6.0
Top quartile.....	0.8	1.4	1.5	1.4
Median.....	0.8	1.1	1.2	1.1
2. Negro: Top percentile.....	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.3
Top quartile.....	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7
Median.....	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.7
<b>E. Ratios of owner to tenant in percentage with less than .75 persons per room—farm residents:</b>				
1. White.....	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.8
2. Negro.....	2.0	1.5	1.8	1.9
<b>F. Tenant/owner ratio of percentages with specified housing conditions—farm residents:</b>				
1. White: Dilapidated houses.....	1.9	2.6	2.5	2.3
More than 1.5 persons per room..	2.3	3.0	3.5	3.7
2. Negro: Dilapidated houses.....	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.3
More than 1.5 persons per room..	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.8
<b>G. Owner/cropper ratios of percentages having specified facilities:</b>				
1. White: Telephones.....	3.5	4.6	7.0	4.9
Electric washing machines.....	1.3	1.8	2.0	2.3
Electricity.....	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2
Automobiles.....	1.2	1.5	1.5	2.0
2. Negro: Electric washing machines.....	1.9	2.6	2.6	6.1
Electricity.....	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.2
Automobiles.....	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.5

units, especially in Mississippi. At the top percentile, the white farmers sell three to five times as much as the corresponding Negro farmers, except in North Carolina where they sell only half again as much (Table 2,A); for commercial farms alone, the ratios are higher. At the top quartile and at the median, however, this ratio nowhere exceeds 1.5, except among commercial farmers in Georgia (Table 2, B-C).

Products valued at \$10,000 or more were sold by seven times as many white as Negro commercial farmers in North Carolina, and by over forty times more whites than Negroes in South Carolina and Mississippi (Table 2,E). The white-Negro ratios for farmers having sales of \$5,000 or more were much smaller, ranging from less than 2:1 in North Carolina to 11:1 in Mississippi. At the bottom of the scale, the percentages receiving less than \$1,200 for their products were about the same for each race in North Carolina and Mississippi, but race inequality in South Carolina and Georgia is sizeable (Table 2,F). In North Carolina a fourth—and in the other states about half—of the Negroes were in this lowest category.

The median gross incomes of the two races were the same in North Carolina, and two-fifths of the whites on commercial farms in Mississippi marketed as little as the lower half of Negroes, whereas only a third of the South Carolina whites were below the Negro median in that state. In North Carolina and Mississippi 70 per cent—and even in South Carolina and Georgia over 50 per cent—of the whites take in as little money as the lower three-fourths of the Negroes. Thus, among the bulk of the population, race contrasts in scale of operation were slight in Mississippi and in North Carolina they were virtually absent, though the absolute level was comparatively high for both races in North Carolina and low for both in Mississippi.

Since gross-income data cannot be corrected from available tabulations to allow for farm expenses or off-farm incomes, household net incomes must be taken from the population census. Race contrasts are greater for net than for gross income,\* but within the white race the contrasts between the top percentile and decile levels are less for net income. Among whites, 1949 median farm-household incomes ranged from \$1,500 in the Carolinas down to \$1,000 in the other two states, in contrast to \$2,500 in Iowa (Table 4,B). Among Negro farm families the range was from \$800 (in North Carolina) to less than \$500. In North Carolina the median net income of whites was nearly twice that of Negroes, and in the other states it was well over twice as large as the Negro (Table 2,C). Nevertheless, a third of the South Carolina white families and about half of those in the other states received less than the Negro family at the top quartile. Though Iowa farmers have nearly as high a median income as urban families, southern farm families average only half the income of urban families, and the disparity is even greater in Georgia and Mississippi.

The presence of a small group at the top is also indicated in other comparisons. Among whites in Iowa and the Carolinas and among Negroes in all four states, the ratio of top-percentile to top-decile household income was 2:1. Among whites in Georgia and

\* That race differences for net income are larger than for gross income is due in part to the larger proportions of tenants (who must turn over part of their gross income to landlords) among Negroes, as well as the frequency of off-farm earning by whites. Owners' gross incomes must also be discounted, not only for the rise in expenses with gross income but also for the strong propensity of owners to save. Since croppers are typically on better land and have supervision from presumably superior managers, many of them may do better financially than they could as independent operators.

TABLE 4. STATE DIFFERENCES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS TRAITS, FOR COMPARABLE RACE AND TENURE GROUPS IN THE FARM POPULATIONS OF FOUR SOUTHERN STATES, 1950

Socio-economic indices and race-tenure groups	Values for lowest state	Ratios of values in each state to lowest-state value			
		North Carolina	South Carolina	Georgia	Mississippi
<b>A. Gross sales—commercial farms:</b>					
1. Top-percentile values:	<i>Dollars</i>				
a. All race-tenure groups....	12,000	1.0	1.5	1.7	1.5
b. Whites:					
All tenure groups.....	13,000	1.0	2.2	1.9	2.6
Owners .....	16,250	1.0	2.4	1.8	2.9
Croppers .....	7,430	1.3	1.0	1.5	1.0
c. Negroes:					
All tenure groups.....	4,750	1.6	1.2	1.3	1.0
Owners .....	5,200	1.4	1.0	1.3	1.1
Croppers .....	4,550	1.7	1.3	1.4	1.0
2. Median values:					
a. All race-tenure groups....	1,180	1.9	1.3	1.5	1.0
b. Whites:					
All tenure groups.....	1,240	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.0
Owners .....	1,330	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.0
Croppers .....	1,160	2.3	1.5	1.5	1.0
c. Negroes:					
All tenure groups.....	1,100	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.0
Owners .....	850	1.8	1.1	1.4	1.0
Croppers .....	1,250	2.0	1.3	1.2	1.0
<b>B. Household net incomes:</b>					
1. Top-percentile values:	<i>Dollars</i>				
Whites .....	8,100	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.0
Negroes .....	3,450	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.0
2. Median values:					
Whites .....	1,035	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.0
Negroes .....	449	1.8	1.3	1.1	1.0
<b>C. Percentages with specified facilities:</b>					
1. All farms:	<i>Per cent</i>				
Telephones .....	7	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.0
Flush toilets (own or share)	9	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.0
Tub or shower (own or share) .....	11	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.0
Kitchen sink with drain....	17	2.1	1.5	1.6	1.0
Piped water .....	20	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.0
Electric washing machine..	22	2.1	1.2	1.5	1.0
Mechanical refrigerator ...	34	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.0
Electricity .....	56	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.0
Automobiles .....	27	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.0
2. Whites:					
Telephones .....	10	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.2
Piped water .....	32	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.0
Electric washing machines..	41	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.0
Electricity .....	79	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0
Automobiles .....	37	1.4	1.7	1.4	1.0
3. Negroes:					
Piped water .....	8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Electric washing machines..	2	6.5	1.5	1.2	1.0
Electricity .....	32	1.7	1.4	1.5	1.0
Automobiles .....	17	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.0

Mississippi it was nearly 3:1. The decile-to-quartile ratios of household income were quite uniformly about 1.6:1 for both races (Table 3,A-B). Negro farm families are not a homogeneous impoverished mass. Indeed, in North Carolina a fourth, in Georgia and Mississippi a fifth, and in South Carolina a seventh of the Negro families had net incomes above the respective white medians. Among Negroes, state contrasts in income levels were marked: 40 per cent of the Negro families in North Carolina had more net income than the median whites in Mississippi, and 13 per cent were above the upper quartile of Mississippi whites.

#### LAND AND BUILDINGS

Though gross income is a superior measure of scale of farming, contrasts in the more usual criteria of standing among farmers are illuminating. The farms of southern whites have been enlarged rapidly since 1930, except in North Carolina. Yet, even today, the largest southern average (for white operators in Georgia) is only half the Iowa mean acreage. Negro farms have only a third to a half the acreage of white farms and they are no larger today than they were twenty years ago. Acres of cropland harvested is a better index of income-yielding land, and here the southern states are more uniform but still further below Iowa, where farms have little waste land. Race contrasts are smaller for cropland harvested (Table 2,A-D) than for total acreage.

The mean valuation of the land plus the buildings on the white-operated farm in these states was only a fourth of the \$28,000 Iowa figure, and only in North Carolina were Negro farms worth more than half as much as white farms (Table 2,D). Unfortunately there are no data showing the distributions of these values or the extent of the

differences between means and medians.

A Lorenz analysis shows that there is more inequality today than in 1930 in the distribution of total farm acres in the southern states, whereas in Iowa there has been no change. The top 5 per cent of Iowa farms contain 14 per cent of all farm land—a low degree of concentration.<sup>9</sup> The top 5 per cent of farms in North Carolina include 30 per cent of the land and in the other states the corresponding figure is 40 per cent (Table 1,A). In Iowa the smallest third of farms have 12 per cent of the total land, while in the South they have only 5 per cent. Cropland is less unequally distributed than is total land in these southern states, but the state differences in degree of concentration are larger; for the top 5 per cent, the range is from 16 per cent of all cropland in North Carolina to 28 per cent in Mississippi. This concentration in Mississippi is again mainly at the extreme top, as is shown by the fact that the upper third of the farms have about the same share (3/5) as in Georgia or South Carolina. In Iowa and North Carolina, the top third have half the cropland harvested, and in all five states the lowest third have a seventh of the total. Inequalities in Iowa are as much a reflection of deviations at the bottom as of concentration at the top, while North Carolina is intermediate between Iowa and the other three southern states in the extent to which

<sup>9</sup> A 1946 survey of landownership (as distinguished from size of operated farms) found that in the North Central States the top 5 per cent of owners held a third of the land, in contrast to over half in the South. The high value placed on private landholding in southern culture is shown by the fact that a smaller proportion of southern owners were dependent upon land for their main income. And this value-attitude is not to be attributed to tight controls through inheritance, since about a third only of the landowners in both regions acquired their land by gift or inheritance.



the deviation is at the top or the bottom.

No race breakdown was possible in the Lorenz analysis of land distributions, but the data do permit analysis of percentile ratios within races (Table 3, A-B). Among whites in North Carolina, the top-percentile farm has three times as many acres of cropland as the top-decile enterprise, while in Mississippi the ratio is 7:1. The relatively equalitarian distribution of cropland in Iowa is clearly evidenced by a top-percentile-to-decile ratio of only 1.3:1. When the top-decile farm is related to the top-quartile farm, the southern white ratios are all 2:1 or less (Table 3, A-B). By these same tests, Negro farms are consistently more unequally held than Iowa farms, though concentration at the top is less than among southern whites, and state differences in Negro inequality at the top of the scale are negligible.

Though the means of acres in crops are greater for white than for Negro farmers (except in North Carolina), the majority of the farmers in both races stand close together; race ratios even at the top quartile are near unity (Table 2, A-D). The top-percentile white farm, on the other hand, has five times the cropland of the top-percentile Negro farm in Mississippi but about the same amount in North Carolina, with the other two states intermediate. The proportions of white farmers with less cropland than the median Negro farmer ranged from three-fifths in Georgia to two-fifths in Mississippi, and the proportions of whites with fewer acres to till than the top-quartile Negro were about three-fourths in North Carolina and Georgia and two-thirds or less in South Carolina and Mississippi.

The foregoing exploration of inequalities has focused on the patterns for single measures of status. As one would expect, landholding and capital valuations tend to be concentrated in

farms with high product-sales (Table 1, B). When the farms are arrayed by gross income, there is little alteration in the observed degree of concentration within the top 5 per cent for cropland, but inequalities for total acres (which are less closely correlated with gross sales) diminish. For each of the four items, the top 5 per cent of farms on the basis of gross incomes had about a tenth of the total in Iowa, a sixth in North Carolina, and a fourth in South Carolina. Georgia fell between the Carolinas, and in Mississippi the top 5 per cent of the farms had 30 per cent of the aggregate on all items except farm values (40 per cent). The lowest third of farms by gross income had about the same share of the aggregate of these items in each state, except for their larger share of owned land in Iowa and North Carolina, and, in the latter state, of acreage. The large share of the lower-income groups in Iowa and North Carolina, with respect to land owned, reflects an exceptionally loose relationship between tenure and economic status, though in all five states that correlation is lower than is commonly assumed.

#### TENURE STATUS

Too often discussion of stratification among farmers is restricted to tenure relations without considering the status implications of variations in the economic attributes of tenure positions. Power and property relations as incorporated in the tenure system vary both by themselves and in their association with the economic factors.

If we take the formal tenure ranks at face value for the moment, the southern white farmers may be said to fare better than those in Iowa, in that about 10 per cent more of them are owners. As compared with the whites, over two-thirds of whom are owners, less than half as many Negroes own their farms; the spread between the races is widest in Mississippi and

narrowest in the Carolinas (Table 2,E). Ownership is at a high level today in both races, having arisen appreciably since the depression, and outside of North Carolina the relative increase has been greater among the Negroes. An unpublished study by the writer showed that as of 1930 a white farmer's chances of moving from tenant to owner status were double the Negro chances in the Carolinas and triple in Georgia and Mississippi. The 1950 situation was about the same except in Mississippi, where over-all Negro gains in ownership percentages appear to reflect migration of young Negroes from farms with only negligible upward mobility within farming.

Sharecroppers stand at the opposite end of the tenure hierarchy from owners. To many people, the cropper symbolizes southern agriculture. As of 1950, Negroes were from three to five times as likely to be croppers as were whites (Table 2,F). At this bottom level, however, whites enjoy only a limited advantage over Negroes in climbing to a higher rank, and state differences in this respect were minor.

Mobility on the tenure ladder is facilitated when the tenant rents from a relative; about a fifth of the southern whites and a third of the Iowa tenants are related to their landlords. Only 5 per cent of the Negroes rented from a relative. White croppers, but not Negro, were as likely as other tenants to be relatives of their landlords.

The socio-economic implications of tenure position are diverse. In Iowa, tenants operate enterprises that average bigger than those of owners, but in the South the reverse is generally the case (Table 3,C). Within each race, tenure contrasts with respect to mean acres and farm valuations exceed contrasts in cropland or gross income. The superior position of owners is most marked in Mississippi and least so in North Carolina, where Negro owners have no advantage over croppers ex-

cept in number of acres. In all four states, mean gross sales of Negro croppers exceed those of Negro owners, and this is true even among whites in North Carolina, where croppers stand unusually high. In both races, the disadvantage of being a cropper instead of a renter is least in North Carolina and greatest in Mississippi. Everywhere the differences between the tenure groups are less for Negroes than for whites.

The two races are more similar, economically, at the bottom of the tenure ladder than at the top. White owners exceed Negro owners by a wider margin than white croppers exceed Negro croppers. Except in gross income, the differences between white owners and white croppers are larger than those between owners of the two races. In each state the owner-cropper spread of mean gross incomes among whites roughly matches the over-all differences between races (Tables 2,D and 3,C) but falls short of the contrasts between white and Negro owners. State contrasts in gross incomes of croppers are large; in fact, the gap within each race between mean gross incomes of North Carolina and Mississippi croppers exceeds the maximum over-all race contrast.

These comparisons between tenure groups actually exaggerate the association between tenure and economic standing, especially among whites, due to the fanning out of the small top minority of owners. Most of the owners in both races have little advantage over tenants. The very limited effect of tenure status upon economic status is shown by the overlapping of the various groups with respect to gross income. Three-fifths of the white owners in North Carolina, half of those in South Carolina, and two-fifths of those in the other two states sold less in 1949 than the median cropper. Among Negroes, from two-thirds of the owners in Georgia to four-fifths of those in North

Carolina took in less money than the median cropper; in North Carolina, Negro croppers exceeded Negro owners even at the top percentile. In no state did as many as half of the owners, of either race, produce as much as the top-quartile cropper.

At the top percentiles there is again revealed the presence of a small group of very large white operators, especially in Mississippi and South Carolina, where such owners outproduce croppers sixfold and fivefold, respectively. At the top percentile in North Carolina the white owner sells only 1.7 times as much as the cropper. The contrasts between white owners and renters are smaller. The very big farms pull up the mean gross incomes for white owners in South Carolina and Mississippi, considerably exaggerating the typical tenure distinctions in those states. In North Carolina, white as well as Negro tenure differences are slight throughout most of the range.

#### CONTROL OVER LABOR

Extensive use of hired labor signifies a shift away from family farming and toward a progressive differentiation among farmers. This index, however, has pertinence only within a narrow segment of the farm population.

In 1950, hired laborers made up a sixth of the adult male farm-labor force (including unpaid family workers) in Iowa. In none of the southern states were so many of the whites employed as farm hands, but among Negroes the proportions varied from a seventh in Mississippi to a quarter in Georgia. The ratio of Negro to white percentages of men who were farm laborers was about 2:1 in each state (Table 2,F); as compared with twenty years ago, these ratios are higher in Mississippi but lower elsewhere.

Only a tenth of the southern farms and a sixth of those in Iowa were employing help when the census was taken. However, nearly all the larger

farms in Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia were employing help, and in Iowa and North Carolina two-thirds and three-fourths, respectively, of the larger farms had help. In the Carolinas and Georgia, sizeable proportions even of moderate-sized farms hire workers. Hiring of workers rises sharply with level of farm output, particularly in Mississippi, which is also the only one of the four states not exceeding Iowa in the proportion of low-productivity farms hiring help. In Iowa, even the largest farms tend to be family enterprises despite hiring additional workers; hence the proportion of farms reporting unpaid family workers increases from the lower to the higher gross-income levels in Iowa, whereas among southern whites this ratio first rises and then drops off sharply. The children of prosperous white farmers in the South do not do field work.

A white farmer is from three to five times as likely to employ a laborer as a Negro farmer, and at least twice as likely to do so in each tenure group. However, irrespective of race, it is owners who have the services of farm laborers. Monopoly of hired help by white owners is most marked in Mississippi.

The distribution among farms of total labor time hired is not published, but the distribution of the wage bill is available (Table 1,B). Grouped by gross income, the top 5 per cent of farms in Iowa spent a fourth of the total wage bill, in North Carolina a third, in South Carolina and Georgia a half, and in Mississippi three-fourths. As compared with the other attributes of status that have been examined, hiring of labor is unusually concentrated in Mississippi, where hired laborers are confined to fewer than a fourth of the farms. Also, Mississippi's 20:1 ratio of top-percentile to top-decile payrolls was much higher than those of the other states; again, the lowest

ratios were in North Carolina (5:1) and Iowa (3:1).

Labor control assumes a unique form in southern agriculture, where the plantation is a vigorous enterprise. These multiple-unit operations cover 30 per cent (in Mississippi 40 per cent) of all farm land and cropland. Of total cotton sales, two-thirds in Mississippi and two-fifths in the other three states come from these large units.<sup>10</sup>

The plantation and the cropper farmer go together. Virtually all the sub-farms in these multiple units are operated by croppers, even though a large part of plantation land is in "home farms." Croppers are used as paid or unpaid labor on these "home farms" also. Plantations, however, are not a homogeneous elite astride a mass of small farms, but an upper group that is itself sharply graduated. Of the total acreage in multiple units, the top 5 per cent of the plantations control nearly a third; in Mississippi they contain 40 per cent of the cropland harvested (Table 1,D). Among multiple units the control over croppers, except in Mississippi, is slightly less unequal than over land; the top 5 per cent in Mississippi have two-fifths and in the other states one-fifth of all croppers. In three states, the smallest third of the plantations manage a fifth of the croppers, but in Mississippi they control only a tenth.

For a proper perspective on these multiple units, one should look at the rest of the pyramid. Among the "operating units" (i.e., multiple-unit enterprises plus all non-cropper farms outside of multiple-unit combinations) the top 5 per cent have at their disposal from three to six times their quota of farm units and more than three-fourths of all croppers. As was once true of slaves, so now with croppers of either race, this subordinate la-

bor supply is narrowly held. Moreover, not only croppers, but other types of southern tenants as well, are much more closely supervised by landlords than are northern tenants.

#### HOUSEHOLD FACILITIES

Families use their income to procure goods that confer status or that manifest privileged position. As with net income, comparisons of consumption levels may be made without arguing the equivalence in different areas of, say, tenure categories or land fertility.

Landowning, income, and control over labor combine with state customs and race to determine consumption patterns. Housing conditions are one index of consumption. White families are less often overcrowded than Negroes. A tenth of the whites and a third of the Negro farmers in each state had more than 1.5 persons per room; among owners alone, the percentages were 6 for whites and 20 for Negroes; and among tenants, about 20 and 35, respectively. Four-fifths of the Iowa families, half of the southern whites, and only a quarter of the Negroes had fewer than .75 persons per room. While race and tenure differences are considerable, state differences within the South were small (Tables 2,E-F and 3,E-F).

Houses having private toilets and hot water, and passable structurally, were available to few whites and fewer Negroes. Even among southern white owners, the highest state proportion of farmers living in such houses was only a quarter (in South Carolina)—as against two-fifths in Iowa. Here again tenure contrasts are important, especially in Georgia and South Carolina; the white owner-tenant ratios ranged from a low of 3.4:1 in Mississippi to 6.7:1 in Georgia, whereas the Iowa ratio was less than 2:1.

"Dilapidated" homes were inhabited by a seventh of the white owners and from a quarter to two-fifths of the

<sup>10</sup> Financial data for multiple units have not been published.

white tenants; among Negroes, these proportions were a third and a half, respectively. About a sixth of all Negro families—and of whites in Mississippi—lacked any toilet facilities, as did about a tenth of the whites in the other states. Less than a tenth of the Negro farmers had a piped water supply, while among white families this proportion ranged from a third in Mississippi to nearly a half in South Carolina (Table 4,C). Even in Iowa, only half the farm homes had piped water.

Electricity has been brought to eight of every ten white homes, but among Negroes the possessors range from half in North Carolina to less than a third in Mississippi (Table 2,E). While race contrasts are important, tenure groups within each race are much alike (Table 3,G). Virtually none of the Negro families had an electric washing machine except in North Carolina, and the ratios of the over-all percentages for the two races varied from 5:1 in North Carolina to 25:1 in Mississippi. For washing machines, Negro tenure differences exceeded those of the whites in all states.

Few southern farmers have telephones, but four-fifths of the Iowa farmers do (Table 4,C). An owner among the southern whites is three times as likely as a cropper to have a phone. Less than 2 per cent of the Negroes in any category have telephones.

Automobiles are virtually universal in Iowa, but in Mississippi only a third and in the other states half of the white farm families have cars. Autos are as frequent among Negroes outside of Mississippi as among whites in that state. Within each race, tenure contrasts in car ownership are least in North Carolina and greatest in Mississippi (Table 3,G); the divergence between the races is about the same in both tenure categories and greatest in Mississippi (Table 2,E).

Though household conveniences are more common in Iowa than among

southern families, the differences between regions are less marked at the top than at the bottom of the gross-income scale. Only the topmost southern farm families make as much use of autos, electricity or electric washing machines as the lowest group in Iowa, and not even these top families have as many telephones as the low families in Iowa. The income gradient in possession of facilities is steeper in the South—steepest of all in Mississippi and least steep in North Carolina. While it is clear that lower rates of use are not due solely to lower southern incomes,<sup>11</sup> the limiting factors are more important among the low-income families. It seems a reasonable inference from the data, moreover, that tenure and even race differences are insufficient explanations. The isolation of the mass of southern farmers of both races from the national material culture is prominent in Mississippi and cannot be considered a negligible factor in any of the four southern states studied.

The state race-tenure patterns in these elements of consumption are only partially associated with the patterns of distribution of gross income, land, or labor control. Divergence between white tenure groups is one factor in the situation, as is race contrast among owners. Over-all race contrasts are slight where we are dealing with traits that are possessed by comparatively few families; especially in Mississippi does this show up. But tenure dissimilarities in house occupancy and housing conditions are marked, both for traits possessed by

<sup>11</sup> That income is not the main factor is suggested also by the percentages of families with electricity who also have electric washing machines. Even at the lowest gross-income level, in Iowa four-fifths of those with power have machines also, whereas only half the comparable farms in North Carolina and a fourth in the other states have them. Among the four southern states, the North Carolina washing machine data show the least correlation with income.



few families and those possessed by many—which was not true of the land and gross-income figures. For other facilities, the extent of tenure or race contrasts tends to be positively associated with the over-all rarity of an item.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The southern status structure is not monolithic in its socio-economic features, and it would appear even less so if it were possible to use counties instead of states as units. While the present findings do not refute those of other studies dealing with political or "social" relationships, the socio-economic aspects of status have one key feature: Even if a Negro cropper cannot vote or have easy relations with whites or obtain a fair reckoning from his landlord, yet if he has a moderate income he can utilize mass instrumentalities for advancement. He can keep his children in school. He can relate his own or his children's lives in a significant degree to the broader national culture that does not accept some of the provincial discriminations. The underprivileged of both races make their cultural adjustments slowly, with a lag behind economic gains; but such adjustments occur nonetheless—as the contrasts in facilities between North Carolina and Mississippi attest. These economic gains operate more to undercut the traditional status system than to uphold it.

The difficulty of generalizing is not due solely to the mass of material examined. Basically, the status system of the rural South today is more blurred and more variable than is usually realized. When we consider only the three factors of race, tenure, and state, the picture is complex for any one attribute of status and is yet more so when different traits are compared. Thus, state contrasts (both over-all and within particular race-tenure categories) are wide on some items—automobiles or washing machines, for example—but narrow in the incidence of some low-level traits (such as proportion of dilapidated houses) and some rarities (such as telephones). For some items, notably electricity, state differences are negligible among whites but important among Negroes. The tenure ranks within each race differ widely in housing conditions, though at median levels tenure contrasts in cropland or gross income are small, and among Negroes the rank of the tenure group is reversed. Race contrasts for net income exceed those for gross income, but net-income differences among whites are the smaller. In the case of most of the indices used, overall race contrasts, as well as tenure differences within the white race, appear to be exceptionally high in Mississippi at the top percentile or when we are considering rather rare items. But, in the middle and lower ranges of these subpopulations, Mississippi race and tenure contrasts are commonly below those in South Carolina and Georgia. Income gradients with respect to facilities vary considerably from item to item and state to state, with the states more alike at the top than at the lower economic levels.

Variance analysis for the percentages of farmers having gross incomes above \$5,000, for those below \$1,200, for median values, and for top-quartile values was used to sort out the race, tenure, and state components of variation in this factor.<sup>12</sup> It is clear that the components of variation have different weights as determinants of high incomes than as explanations of low incomes. Between-race variance for large incomes (percentages above \$5,000) was significant at the 0.1 per cent level and was ten times the variance between states or tenure groups. Vari-

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<sup>12</sup> Of the few items for which variance analysis could be used with all three factors combined, gross income appeared the most suitable.

ance among whites was four times that among Negroes, but white average percentages above \$5,000 were higher, so that the white coefficients of variation exceeded the Negro by only 20 per cent. For the whole white group, tenure differences considerably outweighed state differences, due mainly to tenure contrasts within South Carolina and Georgia. Tenure variance was in all cases small among Negroes, with state contrasts emphatically dominant. For both races, but especially among Negroes, state differences were more sizeable for croppers than for owners or renters.

At the lower end of the gross-income scale, state differences in percentages under \$1,200 (and also in medians) are even more significant than race distinctions, though both factors are significant at the 0.1 per cent level. The coefficient of variation among Negroes exceeded that of the whites by 50 per cent (for the medians it was double the white). Within each race, differences between states overshadow tenure contrasts for both the percentages under \$1,200 and the medians. In fact, for the percentages under \$1,200, the tenure factor vanishes among whites, and to the extent that it is operative among Negroes it reflects cropper and renter advantages over owners. The components of variance of top-quartile values are intermediate between those of the median and the over-\$5,000 distributions, with race and state factors about equally important and both significant at the 0.1 per cent level; but over-all tenure contrasts are negligible. At the top quartiles, as for the percentages under \$1,200, state differences are greater among Negroes than among whites.

Between-race coefficients of variation for all four sets of data are least in North Carolina and greatest by a wide margin in South Carolina and Georgia. At median and under-\$1,200 levels, race contrasts in Mississippi come closer to

the contrasts observed at the low levels in North Carolina than to those of the high levels in the other two states, whereas at the top quartile the reverse is the case.

The analysis of gross-income distributions is only one key to stratification patterns, but, on the whole, the other indices present the same basic patterns, with some exceptions already noted.

While the distributions of control over labor (hired and cropper) come closer than any of the other indices to providing clues concerning authority aspects of the status structure, they require careful interpretation. For one thing, there are marked differences between states in the economic implications of cropper status—and probably also in the nature of landlord-cropper relations—that are not revealed in census data. Also, where participation of upper-level family members in the field labor is minimal, as among whites in Mississippi and South Carolina, invidious comparisons regardless of race are more likely. The importance of the small group of high-level whites in Mississippi is underlined both by the very extreme concentration of control over hired labor in that state and by the exceptionally great concentration of cropper control within the population of multiple-unit enterprises there.

The caste-class components of stratification in these four southern states emerge quite clearly when the cumulative evidence of all these data is pulled together. Mississippi has a class as much as a caste configuration. In Mississippi and North Carolina alike, race distinctions are comparatively low; but the class structure among whites in Mississippi is highly plutocratic. Class lines in North Carolina are relatively blurred, with a structure that seems to approximate a continuum rather than the dichotomy suggested in Mississippi. (And North Carolina has a two-party system!) In Georgia and South Carolina, whites commonly fare much bet-

ter than in Mississippi, whereas Negroes have not gained as much as in North Carolina—with the result that the over-all caste or race contrasts appear greater in these two states for the bulk of the populations. At the same time, the gradients within the white populations are steep, especially in South Carolina.

A casual inspection of old censuses suggests that these state variations in the intermixtures of the caste and class

elements may, in lesser degree, date back a century. The differences today are also in part snapshots of states at different stages of readjustment. It may be suspected that Mississippi is going to undergo a progressively wider differentiation outside the small elite, first becoming more like South Carolina and Georgia, and only later moving (as will South Carolina and Georgia also) toward the distributional patterns of North Carolina and the North.

## RESEARCH NOTES

*Edited by Harold F. Kaufman*

### THE RATIO BETWEEN THE LABOR FORCE AND THE SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION AS AN INDEX OF ABILITY TO SUPPORT EDUCATION

*by Howard Wakefield†*

One of the fundamental problems in rural-school reorganization and development today is that of finance. The small attendance unit inevitably faces higher per pupil costs. Many states have favored small school districts with additional aid, but this assistance has been largely in recognition of their supposed inefficiency and is usually accompanied by requirements to conform to large-school standards. Any state-wide move to economize or increase efficiency brings the smaller school into the limelight as some kind of "offender." Having the additional aid and having adjusted to it, the smaller school is a vulnerable target. The continued operation of schools which are of a size that is ineffective by any standard can not be justified, nor can the continuation of small schools now serving phantom communities; but the adequate financing on a sound basis of many smaller schools is crucial to the vitality of small communities.

The ability to support education is closely tied to the value of property, or is sought through indices which are geared to the economic forces that create overbalancing differences in property value. However, the labor force can be considered a prime source of wealth, an element which gives value to land, buildings, or capital by coupling them to use. Out of this coupling of utility to property flow goods and services—added forms of wealth. An ideology committed to the belief that equality of educational opportunity is vital to its preservation must gauge equitably the rivers of goods and services and tap each equitably; having done that, it must replenish out of the common reservoir those rivulets fed by meager springs.

This study endeavors to arrive at an index of tax-paying ability which takes into account certain socio-economic differences between the rural and the urban as they relate to the support of education. An examination was made of the relationship between the labor force and the school-age population in urban and rural counties. This was undertaken in a search for a more

fundamental clue to the cause of rural-urban differentials in the finance of education, to shed added light on the problem of equalizing educational opportunity.

Ratios of labor force to school-age population were computed for selected counties in four states. In the computations the unpaid family workers were subtracted from the total labor force. It was felt that part-time employment is a problem needing special study in its relation to comparisons of income. The lack of common units of measure (i.e., the earnings per unit of time in relation to skill involved, investment risk entailed, and cost of living) in comparisons of labor force is to be noted as a technical difficulty in a study of this kind. The unemployed portion of the labor force is not considered in the study, since it appears from casual investigation to vary closely with the incidence of underemployment (a form of unemployment).

The school-age population embraces ages 5-17, inclusive—the years normally devoted to obtaining an education at public expense. These years were selected as defining the acceptable minimum period of public education in the United States. Differing state standards of education are excluded from consideration as symptomatic of the disorder being probed. This also applies to school-enrollment figures. In both cases, the true problem is hidden, although percentages of the population in school attendance reveal something of the gap between need and practice.

Intra-county differences are ignored. Suburban communities are geared largely to the urban economy and are therefore properly a part of the metropolitan area. Urban fringe developments are again a special problem needing special study. Problems of segregation and population density are also omitted as not directly relevant to the study, although they are important in other respects.

In each of four states—Alabama, Montana, Ohio, and New York—eight counties were selected, ranging from the most highly urbanized to the most rural, with the subordinate attempt to get a fairly wide geographic distribution within the state. The following data for each county were obtained from two census reports (1940 and 1950): (1) total population, per cent urban, and persons aged 5-17, inclusive; (2) total labor force and unpaid family workers. A ratio was computed for each

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TABLE 1. RATIO OF ADJUSTED LABOR FORCE TO SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION FOR SELECTED COUNTIES AND FOR HIGHEST, LOWEST, AND MEDIAN COUNTIES IN FOUR STATES, WITH RANK OF EACH COUNTY ON THIS RATIO AND OTHER INDICES, 1940 AND 1950

State and county	Ratios		Rank on various indices					
	1940	1950	Ratio		Population		Per cent urban	
			1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950
United States ....		1.9:1						
Alabama:								
Median county.	1.1:1	1.3:1						
Highest county.	1.8:1	1.9:1						
Lowest county.	0.9:1	0.9:1						
Montgomery* ..	1.8:1	1.9:1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Jefferson .....	1.6:1	1.8:1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Covington .....	1.2:1	1.3:1	3	4	4	4	4	4
Lauderdale ....	1.1:1	1.3:1	4	3	3	3	3	3
Randolph .....	1.0:1	1.2:1	5	5	6	6	5	5
Coosa .....	1.0:1	1.2:1	6	6	8	8	8	8
Jackson .....	0.9:1	0.9:1	7	7	5	5	6	6
Washington ...	0.9:1	0.9:1	8	8	7	7	7	7
Montana:								
Median county.	1.6:1	1.6:1						
Highest county.	2.6:1	2.4:1						
Lowest county.	1.3:1	1.4:1						
Beaverhead ...	2.6:1	2.4:1	1	1	4	4	3	3
Missoula .....	2.2:1	2.0:1	2	3	2	2	2	2
Cascade .....	2.1:1	2.2:1	3	2	1	1	1	1
Lincoln .....	1.6:1	1.5:1	4	5	3	3	4	4
Stillwater .....	1.6:1	1.5:1	5	6	5	5	6	6
Daniels .....	1.5:1	1.4:1	6	7	6	6	8	5
Carter .....	1.4:1	1.6:1	7	4	7	7	5	8
Treasure .....	1.3:1	1.4:1	8	8	8	8	7	7
New York:								
Median county.	2.0:1	2.1:1						
Highest county.	2.3:1	2.7:1						
Lowest county.	1.5:1	1.6:1						
Monroe .....	2.3:1	2.7:1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Kings .....	2.2:1	2.5:1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Rensselaer ....	2.2:1	2.3:1	3	3	3	3	3	3
Tompkins .....	2.1:1	2.3:1	4	4	5	5	4	4
Hamilton .....	1.9:1	1.9:1	5	6	8	8	8	8
Delaware .....	1.8:1	1.7:1	6	7	6	6	6	6
Cattaraugus ...	1.7:1	1.9:1	7	5	4	4	5	5
Lewis .....	1.5:1	1.6:1	8	8	7	7	7	7
Ohio:								
Median county.	1.7:1	1.9:1						
Highest county.	2.4:1	2.7:1						
Lowest county.	1.1:1	1.0:1						
Cuyahoga .....	2.4:1	2.7:1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Franklin .....	2.2:1	2.5:1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Allen .....	1.9:1	2.1:1	3	3	4	4	5	5
Butler .....	1.7:1	1.9:1	4	4	3	3	3	3
Marion .....	1.7:1	1.8:1	5	5	5	5	4	4
Highland .....	1.7:1	1.4:1	6	6	6	6	6	6
Vinton .....	1.2:1	1.0:1	7	8	8	8	8	7
Holmes .....	1.1:1	1.2:1	8	7	7	7	7	8

\*Interpretation of the table: For Montgomery County, Ala., read across as follows: Ratio of 1.8 persons in the adjusted labor force per child of school age in 1940, and 1.9 persons in 1950; this county has the highest ratio of those listed, both for 1940 and 1950; county ranks second (of those listed) in total population, both for 1940 and 1950; county ranks second (of those listed) in percentage of population that is urban, both for 1940 and 1950.



county by dividing the adjusted labor force (total labor force minus the unpaid family workers) by the school-age population (ages 5-17, inclusive). The counties were then ranked in each state for comparison according to the above ratio, total population, and per cent urban. The range of ratios in each state and the median ratio were also computed.

The median ratio of adjusted labor force to school-age population for the entire United States is 1.9:1—i.e., 1.9 persons in the adjusted labor force for each child of school age. The range of medians for the four states is from 1.25:1 to 2.1:1. The range by counties is of greater significance, running from 0.9:1 for one county in Alabama to 2.7:1 for counties in Ohio and New York. The significance is that in some counties there is less than one person in the labor force for each child to be educated while in other areas there are almost three persons in the labor force to each such child. These figures are found in Table 1.

When the ratios are ranked from highest to lowest, the comparisons with other measures of urban-rural differences are revealing. The two counties in each state having the highest ratio are the largest in population and per cent urban—except for Beaverhead County, Montana. The lowest county in ratio in each state is unvaryingly seventh or eighth among the eight counties in population and degree of urbanization.

A greater ratio of adjusted labor force to school-age population apparently is associated with greater urbanization, and, as counties increase in rurality, the labor force drops in relation to the school-age population. The value of real estate generally diminishes with increasing degrees of rurality, but the school-age population increases proportionately. This inverse relationship leads to the conclusion that a tax solely on property is an unrealistic way of supporting education equitably.

The ratios are consistent with other measures on the urban-rural scale. Also, in spite of the profound changes which occurred during the 1940's, the 1940-1950 rankings are consistent with the relationships described above. A more ambitious study might well work out correlations for a larger number of states and counties.

Under most equalization plans, a uniform tax rate is required of each school district in order to qualify for state assistance. A differential is needed; it might well be along the lines of the ratio between the adjusted labor force and the school-age population. The differential could be administered in one of several ways. An amount

covering basic expenses per unit of population could be subtracted from the tax potential of each community; the remainder could then be taxed equally to qualify for assistance from other tax sources. The second possibility is a system of graduated tax rates based on a differential such as the one above. These would get more nearly at equalized effort. Differences among states suggest the need for federal concern in the problem of equalizing educational opportunity in rural regions.

The ratio which has been discovered and described above is certainly descriptive of a phenomenon. It may, through further study, be refined into an index to be considered in planning an equitable state-aid program.

#### COMPARATIVE RATES OF MENTAL ILLNESSES FOR URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS IN OHIO

by Robert M. Frumkin†

The purpose of this study was to determine whether there are any notable differences in the mental health of urban and rural people in Ohio. The data used were for the 2,591 first admissions (having major mental disorders) to Ohio State mental hospitals during the year ending December 31, 1949. These persons were classified by sex, mental disorder, and urban or rural residence. Rates of first admissions per 100,000 population were calculated for each of the resulting categories, using the populations reported in the 1950 census as the base. These rates form the basis for the analysis and discussion which follow.

The statistical data are summarized in Table 1. With only one exception, it was found that rates of mental illness among urban individuals exceeded rates among rural people; sometimes the urban rates were two, three, or more times the rural rates.

The urban rates for syphilitic psychosis, both among males and females, were twice as high as the rates for rural persons. The rate of alcoholic psychosis for rural males was less than half the rate for urban males; for rural females, one-ninth the rate of urban females.

Psychosis with cerebro-arteriosclerosis is second in incidence among major mental disorders. Urban males and females had rates of admission which were two or more times as high as the rates of rural persons.

Urban individuals also had higher rates of senile psychosis, involutional psychosis,

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TABLE 1. RATES OF FIRST ADMISSIONS TO OHIO STATE MENTAL HOSPITALS  
IN YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1949, BY URBAN OR RURAL  
RESIDENCE AND BY SEX\*

Type of mental disorder	Place of residence and sex			
	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All disorders .....	38.0	36.8	22.1	20.7
Syphilitic psychosis .....	4.5	2.4	2.3	1.0
Alcoholic psychosis .....	5.3	0.9	2.8	0.1
Psychosis with cerebro-arteriosclerosis .....	9.1	8.2	4.7	2.7
Senile psychosis .....	4.7	4.4	3.1	2.4
Involutional psychosis .....	1.8	4.2	1.0	2.9
Manic-depressive psychosis .....	2.1	2.7	1.9	3.6
Schizophrenia .....	8.0	11.1	4.5	5.9
Paranoid conditions .....	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.6
Psychoneurosis .....	1.6	1.9	1.0	1.5

\*Rates per 100,000 of Ohio population in each sex and residence category, 1950 census.

paranoid conditions, and psychoneurosis than did rural people. Urban males had a higher rate of manic-depressive psychosis than rural males; but rural females had a higher rate than urban females. This latter was the only instance in which a rural rate of mental illness exceeded an urban rate.

Schizophrenia is America's leading mental illness. It is probably the most distinctive and the most characteristic mental illness of modern civilization, as modern civilization is manifested in the city culture and social organization.

J. T. Boone and Associates<sup>1</sup> have recently advanced a modified Meyerian hypothesis concerning schizophrenic behavior which is one of the most tenable of its kind. "Schizophrenic behavior," they say, "is an expression of a maladaptation centering in a failure of the integrative capacity of the personality (a disintegration), resulting from frustration beyond the tolerance of the individual. Since such maladaptation almost inevitably results in further frustration, it is characteristically progressive, although potentially reversible." The present findings seem to support this hypothesis.

The rates of schizophrenia for urban males and females are about twice as high as the rates for rural persons. Why are there these differences? It has been suggested that the greater social cohesion of the rural population is more conducive to mental health than the lack of social cohesion characteristic of the city agglomeration.

Since this study was actuarial in character rather than individual, a clinical study of the individual in urban and rural environments is needed to provide an explanation for any differences in rates of mental illness which cannot be completely understood in sociological terms alone. However, as Sorokin<sup>2</sup> states, one of the main distinctions between urban and rural populations is the factor of homogeneity. Rural populations are fairly homogeneous, urban agglomerations extremely heterogeneous. The city is divided into different occupational, economic, religious, political, nationality, racial, kinship, and class groups. In general, the rural aggregate is held together by common occupational, economic, language (nationality), kinship, and religious bonds.

In urban agglomerations the occupational groups engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, commercial, professional, and governmental pursuits predominate, while in the rural aggregates the agricultural pursuit in its various forms is predominant.

As Sorokin<sup>3</sup> points out, "The network of interaction of the city agglomerations is much wider and more complex than that of the country population. In the city there are more numerous contacts per person, wider areas of interaction per man and per agglomeration; predominance of impersonal, casual, short-lived relations over the personal and durable; more complex, manifold, superficial, and externally standardized relationships than sincere, simple, and

<sup>1</sup> J. T. Boone and Associates, *A Hypothesis of Schizophrenic Behavior*, V.A. Pamphlet 10-36 (Washington, D. C., 1951).

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality* (New York: Harper, 1947), pp. 301-302.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

deep ones. In the city, man interacts as 'a number,' 'address,' as an 'impersonal' occupational or political or business 'agent,' whereas in the country, man interacts mainly as 'an individual human person.'"

In Durkheim's<sup>4</sup> terms, the city lacks "so-

cial cohesiveness"; the country has it. Thus, in the country—where the entire network of human relationships is well integrated, where there is a high degree of social cohesiveness—people feel themselves to be vital parts of the community to which they belong, and they are less prone to acquire mental illness than are city people.

<sup>4</sup> E. Durkheim, *Le Suicide* (Paris, 1912).

## DYNAMICS OF THE RURAL POPULATION

Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Population of the Rural Sociological Society. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, State College, Pennsylvania, September, 1952.

### PART I LEVELS AND TRENDS IN RURAL FERTILITY

by Margaret Jarman Hagood†

#### 1. SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS FOR RESEARCH

The course of fertility in the United States in the last twelve years has shown such dramatic and unexpected changes that the field offers significant, challenging, and unanswered problems for research. Concurrently with the increasing need of understanding fertility trends in order to project future population size, the record of fertility behavior among the different sectors of the population in response to changing social, psychological, economic, political, and international factors has become more complex. There is evidence that the response in fertility behavior to these factors has differed among urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm families. Any incisive analysis of the past and current trends in fertility needs to recognize the rural groups separately and to recognize within these groups additional classifications which manifest different fertility levels and different degrees of responsiveness in changing their levels.

Stated in very general terms, the problem for research is to identify in the rural population the groups manifesting similar fertility levels and trends, to seek to identify for these groups the demographic and nondemographic factors closely associated with fertility levels and trends, and, given certain assumptions as to the future course of the nondemographic factors, to develop the basis for prediction of the future course of fertility for the separate groups and for the rural population as a whole.

In planning specific research projects in the area of rural fertility, there will have to be delimitation of much more narrowed and specific subproblems. Nevertheless, if the challenge of the general formulation of the problem is understood, the formulation of the objectives and working plans for specific projects can provide for results that will contribute to some facet of the general problem, even though limited as to degree of generality.

#### 2. AVAILABILITY AND COMPARABILITY OF DATA

At the present time, the situation with regard to data for research on rural fertility is both gratifying and frustrating. In regard to 1950 decennial census data, the change in definitions of rural-urban and farm-nonfarm classifications imposes problems of comparability that will be only partially solved by special tabulations of the 1950 data on the basis of 1940 definitions of urban and rural. On the other hand, if the tabulations planned from the 1950 census are not curtailed drastically because of economy, they will provide more adequate data for analysis of fertility within the newly defined rural-farm and rural-nonfarm population than have been available heretofore. Moreover, in many states, data on births by rural-urban residence of mother are available throughout the decade, by geographic units as small as counties, on the basis of 1940 rural-urban definitions. As 1950 population data by limited classifications are or will be available also on the 1940 basis, there can be approximate comparability during the decade for rates derived from vital statistics. Therefore, the situation is that data exist now (or will be available within the next year or so) for many potentially fruitful analyses in rural fertility. With this wealth of data, research projects of significance can be undertaken on limited budgets because the expense of field collection is obviated.

Because the general problem involves investigation of response in fertility behavior to various types of factors, certain facets of the problem can be explored only through field studies that obtain information on various subjects never covered in census or vital statistics records. The Milbank study of fertility in Indianapolis illustrates the additional kinds of information needed to analyze fertility behavior of a fairly narrowly defined segment of families in the population.<sup>1</sup> Such studies are expensive, because they require lengthy interviews by highly trained personnel. Moreover, as there has been progress in design of re-

†U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

<sup>1</sup> P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser, *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility* (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, Vol. I, 1946; Vol. II, 1950).

search projects, sampling, etc., since the Milbank study was undertaken more than a decade ago, one would not follow that study blindly as a guide in setting up a similar study on rural fertility. Nevertheless, in planning a program for research in rural population, consideration may well be given to the objectives, design, cost, and operation of the Milbank study as illustrative of the dimensions of a field study designed to throw light on phases of the problems in rural fertility that cannot be answered by research on census and vital statistics data.

### 3. METHODS OF ANALYSIS

New and refined methods developed over the last decade for measuring fertility and population replacement have involved the concept of generation or cohort rates. In general, these methods are more elaborate and require detailed classifications of birth data over long periods of time. These are usually available only for large population groups. As rural sociologists usually deal with segments of the population restricted to relatively small geographic areas, it will be true only infrequently in the immediate future that they will be able to use directly the recent methodological contributions of Woofter, Whelpton, Lotka, and others in this field.<sup>3</sup> However, careful study of the conclusions drawn at the national level from careful application of the more elaborate methods can enable rural sociologists to interpret more validly the implications of their own studies of rural fertility using somewhat simpler methods for smaller areas.

There are two basic approaches to the use of census or vital statistics data for examining the relationships of fertility of specified population groups to nondemographic factors. The first or direct approach is feasible when direct or indirect data on fertility and on the other factors are obtained in the same survey and the required cross-classification of women or families can be made by income, education, occupation, etc. For example, from the 1950 Population Census, tabulations will be available for the rural-farm population that permit: (1) summarizing measures of fer-

tility such as number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women of child-bearing age for families classified by income, education of head, occupation of head, etc.; (2) distribution of families by income, education or occupation of head, etc., for families with specified numbers of children ever born. Such tabulations permit a direct approach to the analysis of the relationship of fertility to the other factors. They will be limited, however, to relatively large population groups, such as the rural-farm population of an entire state or region.

The second or indirect approach is feasible for a much broader class of geographic areas—such as counties, economic areas, or subregions—for which detailed cross-classification will not be available. In this approach measures of fertility for a given population group, such as the ratio of children under 5 per 1,000 rural-farm women of child-bearing age, by economic areas, can be computed from the relatively simple tabulations that will be available. From other sorts of tabulations of the population census, from tabulations of the agriculture and housing censuses, and from noncensus sources, various types of information on potentially relevant nondemographic factors will be available for the rural-farm population of economic areas. Utilizing the economic area as a unit of analysis, one can indirectly explore relationships between fertility and other types of phenomena even though cross-tabulations are not available. Various methods of cross-classification and correlation are available for this purpose. (Recently writers have labeled such correlations as "ecological correlations.")<sup>4</sup>

The methods appropriate for analysis of data on fertility gathered through field surveys encompass a much broader range, as the data may be more varied in nature than the conventional vital statistics and census data. Because one of the chief gaps in the census-type data is the absence of information on attitudes, field studies of fertility should be concerned with the measurement of attitudes. In planning such studies the contributions in scaling of attitudes made by Guttman, Lazarsfeld, and others should be studied for their applicability in designing the project and analyzing the data.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> T. J. Woofter, "Completed Generation Reproduction Rates," *Human Biology*, XIX:3 (Sept., 1947), pp. 139-153; P. K. Whelpton, "Reproduction Rates Adjusted for Age, Parity, Fecundity, and Marriage," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLI:236 (Dec., 1946), pp. 501-516; Alfred J. Lotka, "Evaluation of Some Methods of Measuring Fertility," paper presented at the International Statistical Congress (Washington, Aug., 1947).

<sup>4</sup> For example, see W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, XV:3 (June, 1950), pp. 351-357.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel A. Stouffer et al., *Measurement and Prediction*, Vol. IV ("Studies in Social Psychology in World War II") (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1950).



## PART II LEVELS AND TRENDS IN RURAL MORTALITY\*

by Homer L. Hitt, J. Allan Beegle,  
and John N. Burrus†

### 1. SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS FOR RESEARCH

Rural mortality levels and trends are challenging and rewarding areas of research, for several reasons. Since mortality exerts a direct influence upon the size of a population, it must be considered in all predictions of population change and growth. The virtual absence, on a broad scale, of other reliable indexes of health, makes, by default, the rate at which a population is dying the most important gauge of general health conditions available to the researcher. Moreover, the toll exacted by various specific causes of death is the most accurate reflection of society's progress in combating the leading killers of mankind. Finally, analyses of differential mortality may serve as a means of understanding and interpreting cultural and social phenomena.

Although more stable and predictable than fertility, mortality is nevertheless a changing phenomenon which continuously offers unanswered questions and emerging blind spots to the researcher. In the United States, the first half of this century witnessed a steady decline in mortality. All evidence indicates that the reduction during this period was of much greater magnitude among urban than among rural people. The result has been the rapid narrowing of the advantage held in mortality by rural people until at present, according to some recent studies, the existence of a differential favoring ruralites is open to question.<sup>5</sup> In some particular age groups, it may be that large cities now have a more favorable mortality than rural areas.<sup>6</sup> Hence, one current problem for research is

the determination both of the true level of rural as compared with urban mortality and of the demographic and nondemographic factors influencing the level of the rural death rate.

Related to the need for the continuing clarification of the rural-urban differential is the need for the further investigation of the relationship, within the urban category, of community size to mortality. Many studies, for example, have found that small urban centers (ranging in population from 2,500 to 10,000 persons) are characterized by the highest mortality of any residential category.<sup>7</sup> Yet the relatively limited statistical margin of this difference, coupled with the known or suspected deficiencies in the basic data, leaves considerable room for doubt as to the nature of this pattern. Although a seemingly logical explanation—that there are cultural lags in the smaller cities—has been offered for the differential, the decisive importance of this factor remains to be demonstrated. Despite the many scholarly efforts to study the relationship of residence to mortality, the subject continues to invite research.

The study of differentials in mortality for the several residence groups should be concerned with the varying importance of specific causes of death as well as with differences in general mortality rates. For example, how do the leading causes of death differ in rural and urban areas, and what factors are responsible for the differences noted? This approach reveals the distinctive health and medical problems confronting rural society. Considerable work has been done in this field, but many facets of the problem remain unexplored. Moreover, changing conditions are constantly modifying patterns demonstrated to have existed at one time.

Not only should the rural and urban populations be set apart in the study of mortality (as has been emphasized thus far), but groups or segments comprising the rural population should be identified and compared. Research into differential mortality among the social classes in rural areas requires continued attention, despite the methodological difficulties. Other differentials in rural mortality worthy of additional research include those by tenure

\*Special acknowledgment is due Harold F. Dorn for reading the mortality manuscript and for making numerous suggestions and constructive criticisms. However, he is in no sense responsible for any shortcomings.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Lambert Molyneux, *Differential Mortality in Virginia* (Charlottesville: Bur. of Pop. and Econ. Research, Univ. of Va., 1947), pp. 19-21.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lambert Molyneux, Sara K. Gilliam, and L. C. Florant, "Differences in Virginia Death Rates by Color, Sex, Age and Rural or Urban Residence," *American Sociological Review*, XII:1 (Oct., 1947), p. 533; T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948), pp. 257-258; and John N. Burrus, *Life Opportunities: An*

*Analysis of Differential Mortality in Mississippi* (University, Miss.: Bur. of Pub. Admin., Univ. of Miss., 1951), pp. 12, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Paul M. Houser and J. Allan Beegle, *Mortality Differentials in Michigan*, Michigan AES Spec. Bull. 367, East Lansing (Feb., 1951), pp. 33-36; Molyneux et al., op. cit.; Frederick D. Mott and Milton I. Roemer, *Rural Health and Medical Care* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948), p. 53.

status, race and ethnic origin, type of farming, education, and income. Efforts should be made to identify the demographic and nondemographic factors associated with the differential mortality rates and trends. The role of social status, as it relates to the use of medical facilities and resulting mortality rates, deserves special attention. (The elite, for example, often do not patronize local doctors and hospitals since prestige is enhanced or reinforced through patronage of specialists and nonlocal hospitals.) The attitudes concerning health, medical care, and the value of human life itself are known to vary for different segments of the population and must be reflected in the levels of mortality. The male role in Western society permits fewer admissions of illness, equated with weakness and lack of masculinity, than the female role. The identification of such attitudes and the consequent levels of mortality associated with them is an almost untouched area for investigation. The distribution of health facilities in relation to "natural" groupings in rural areas and the relation of this to levels of mortality represent still another fertile area for exploration. Studies in this general field have been rare, perhaps largely because the data made available by the National Office of Vital Statistics do not lend themselves to this valuable type of analysis.

## 2. AVAILABILITY AND COMPARABILITY OF DATA

Several investigators, notably Harold F. Dorn,<sup>\*</sup> have pointed out in some detail the many data problems that confront the researcher investigating the relationship between residence and mortality. Only brief mention can be made here of the more important difficulties. To begin with, the researcher is exclusively dependent upon official vital-statistics reports (now planned, processed, and released on a national basis by the National Office of Vital Statistics, Public Health Service) for extensive mortality data. Annual mortality records from these official reports are available for only a relatively short span of time—since 1933 for the entire nation, but since 1900 for some areas. The manner in which the records have been classified and published limits substantially their use for studies involving considerations of residence. Before 1930, the division between rural and urban was made at 8,000 population and

later at 10,000. Beginning in 1930, the fundamental rural-urban demarcation became 10,000 population, although separate tabulations in many instances were made for places having between 2,500 and 10,000 population in order that mortality data could be more closely related to population data. Since 1940, the terms "rural" and "urban" have been used in the same sense as employed by the 1940 census. Although the smallest-sized centers separately identified in the geographical code utilized are those of 10,000 population, places ranging in population between 2,500 and 10,000 are coded as a group for each county. Mortality data are given for individual cities of 10,000 or more population in some published tabulations. Corresponding data for rural areas and for centers of 2,500 to 10,000 as a group, while not published, are available for counties.

Equally as confusing as the diversity of definitions of rural and urban areas was the early practice of tabulating deaths only by place of occurrence rather than by residence. From 1938 on, the tabulation of death both by place of occurrence and by place of residence has remedied this deficiency. The use of the international list of causes of death has both strong and weak points. While the use of this list improves the comparability of the data at any particular time, changes in this list as the result of decennial revisions break the continuity of the data. Underregistration of deaths, greater in rural than in urban areas, may possibly remain an appreciable problem in some states, though progress in reducing this deficiency is heartening.

The change in definitions of the rural-urban and farm-nonfarm classification, inaugurated by the 1950 census, will unquestionably pose some additional problems. Indeed, the resulting newly lost comparability of residence definitions between population statistics and vital statistics, achieved after 40 years of effort, should somewhat dampen the enthusiasm of those celebrating the victory of the improved residential classification of the census. The residence tabulations in recently released volumes, *Vital Statistics of the United States* (Parts I and II), for 1949 do not conform to the newly adopted definitions of the 1950 census. However, planned special tabulations of the 1950 census data on the basis of 1940 definitions, if in sufficient detail, will reduce the magnitude of immediate difficulties of comparability. Indeed, the next year or so will bring the rather happy combination of parallel vital statistics and census data (i.e., for 1950) which should

<sup>\*</sup> Harold F. Dorn, "Rural Health and Public Health Programs," *Rural Sociology*, VII:1 (Mar., 1942), pp. 23-24.

provide the basis for the most thoroughgoing mortality investigations in a decade.

The most perplexing fundamental problem in utilizing official records is that of obtaining from them sufficiently refined data to answer specific meaningful research queries relative to the role of residence. It is well established that mortality is related, among other factors, to age, sex, race, and marital status as well as to residence. This means that, unless the data are subsorted simultaneously, at least for residence, age, sex, and race, little confidence can be attached to relationships purportedly due to residence. Instead, the mortality pattern exhibited may be due to one or more other factors. In all official materials, such refinements as those specified necessarily become less frequent as smaller areal units are reported. In other words, breakdowns are progressively more general as the tabulations shift from national, to state, and to county data. Yet the rural sociologist customarily works with small areas, usually with one or more counties.

The difficulty of obtaining sufficiently refined data from official sources for making mortality analyses is brought home by the review of the nature of the tabulations in the latest report, *Vital Statistics of the United States for 1949* (Part II), by place of residence. At the county level, for example, the number of deaths is given by race (white and nonwhite) and residence (urban defined as a place having, in 1940, a population of 10,000 or more). Thus, age and sex are not considered, and the residential classification is not the one employed by the census. In another tabulation, the number of deaths from thirty-two selected causes is given for each county by residence (with urban again defined as a place having, in 1940, a population of 10,000 or more). This tabulation, which ignores the factors of race, sex, and age, employs a residential classification that cannot be equated to the census categories. It is, of course, recognized that the cost of the coding, tabulating, and publishing of desirable detailed data is prohibitive. This, however, does not eliminate the researcher's need for them. In this connection, it is significant to note that the tabulations contained in state vital-statistics offices vary considerably in the degree of their detail. Frequently more detailed and consequently more useful mortality materials can be obtained from state than from federal sources. For all their potentialities, the state sources of detailed mortality data remain relatively unexploited.

The limitations of official data plus the existence of numerous pertinent factors other than those included in official vital statistics reports would seem to make field studies indispensable to the investigation of certain facets of rural mortality. Actually such studies have been extremely rare. Perhaps the need for large samples, highly trained enumerators, and long schedules—all contributing to high cost—coupled with certain inherent difficulties in collecting mortality data by enumeration, have discouraged attempts at field surveys in mortality research.<sup>9</sup> The records of life insurance companies probably offer the most promising avenue of approach to the study of significant aspects of mortality not covered in official data.

### 3. METHODS OF ANALYSIS

In the analysis of levels and trends of rural mortality, the indispensability of taking account of the factors of age, sex, and race simultaneously with that of residence should be recognized. Though the crucial importance of this procedure seems obvious, the fact is that many investigators have stopped short of the possibilities of such refinement which are inherent in the data. Unfortunately, as has already been indicated, the data themselves are frequently the limiting factor in the researcher's effort to establish beyond question the precise role of rurality (or urbanity) in mortality patterns. In any event, to assume that this has been done when such factors as age, race, or sex are uncontrolled or unaccounted for is wishful thinking.

Time and space will not permit a detailed review of the several indexes of mortality at the disposal of the researcher. In general, records of death combined with other demographic materials are used either to compute mortality rates of various sorts or to construct life tables. Mortality rates may be calculated for each age group in the populations under study (age-specific death rates) or adjusted for age by relating to the age distribution of a standard population (standardized death rates). The first of these refinements yields a series of death rates, one for each component age group, for each population under study. The second one yields a single composite but fictitious rate for each population—the rate that would prevail if

<sup>9</sup> One item of evidence which attests to the poor quality of mortality data collected by means of enumeration is to be found in the records of the U. S. Bureau of the Census between 1850 and 1900 when such a procedure was actually employed. See Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-245.

the given population had the same age distribution as the standard population. Both types of rates, in any event, correct for age differences and, if so computed, may correct for sex differences.

In addition to the conventional age-adjusted and the age-specific death rates, several specialized mortality rates are in use. The more common of these include the infant mortality rate, the maternal mortality rate, and death rates from specific causes. All of these measures may play vital roles in rural mortality studies.

The life table is a useful and increasingly popular method for summarizing the mortality experience of a population. It is a means of measuring and expressing the longevity of a population. From an analytical standpoint, data on deaths placed within the framework of a life table are better adapted for the analysis of many research problems in mortality than are death data utilized in any other form. Two types of tables, the current and the cohort, may be constructed.<sup>10</sup> The current life table, the most commonly used form, is based upon mortality rates at a particular time. The second type, the cohort life table, follows a given cohort of births over a specified period of time or for life, reflecting the actual mortality experienced by the group in the aging process. Although the cohort table is valuable for highly specialized demographic research, especially in fertility, the current or conventional life table is most useful for the usual research problems in mortality.

Charts showing the curves of age-adjusted death rates and life tables are valuable tools for the analysis of levels and trends of rural mortality. These indexes automatically standardize for age and usually (if so computed) for sex. In utilizing these measures, the factor of race should simultaneously be taken into account, if possible. The stage is set for reliable and fruitful generalizations regarding the relationship of residence to mortality when mortality comparisons of residential groupings (rural-urban, intra-urban, and possibly intra-rural) can be made with age, sex, and race factors held constant.

The possibilities of exploiting official data in studying the relationship between the mortality levels within a particular population group and various nondemographic factors are considerably more

limited than are the corresponding possibilities in fertility research. (See Part I of this paper.) The available data (none of which concerning deaths *per se* comes from the census) do not permit the direct cross-classification of mortality levels within a given population with such factors as education, income, and occupation. It is possible, however, to explore indirectly the relationship between mortality levels and nondemographic factors from official data. This involves first the computation of indexes of mortality for the rural population of geographic areas, such as counties or economic subregions. Then nondemographic characteristics for the rural population of the same areas can be obtained from the census or from other sources. These two types of data for the same geographic area make possible the indirect exploration of their interrelationships (as Hagood has pointed out in connection with fertility research) through various methods of cross-classification and correlation.

The general unavailability, in official sources, of data for the cross tabulation of mortality on the one hand with relevant nondemographic factors on the other, places the investigator in a most difficult situation. Field surveys apparently offer little possibility of advance in mortality research. It seems that the best hope for headway rests upon the expansion of official data provided by state and national agencies. Not to be overlooked, however, by the researcher is the possibility of obtaining from official agencies special tabulations for specific purposes, e.g., data for a group of selected counties. Though expensive, such special tabulations are incomparably more economical than undertaking a complete field study. It is to be remembered that the basic mortality data from death certificates, along with a few related factors, are collected, coded, and punched on cards as routine activity by the National Office of Vital Statistics.

### PART III LEVELS AND TRENDS IN RURAL MIGRATION

by T. Lynn Smith†

#### 1. SIGNIFICANT AREAS FOR RESEARCH

Migration is one of the three factors which bear directly upon the growth of population, births and deaths being the other two. But, whereas in the United States as a whole and for the various states and counties it is possible to determine

<sup>10</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers* (prelim. ed., 2d printing), by A. J. Jaffe (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951), pp. 3 ff.

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rather well the fertility and mortality of the population, migration generally remains in the realm of the great unknown. A good part of what we know on the subject is inference derived from successive population counts and a knowledge of the other two factors involved in the changes. Our first great need, therefore, is ways and means of getting current and reliable information about migration that will match the fertility and mortality data presently available for use by rural sociologists and others. Hence the discovery or development of adequate data and the perfection of significant indicators of migration are the primary problems confronting those interested in the field.

Migration, or the movement of persons from place to place, is of a wide variety of types; and there are many significant problems calling for additional research in connection with each of them. Among the ones with which the rural sociologists necessarily must be concerned are the following: (1) the rural-urban exchange of population; (2) the interregional movement of rural people; (3) farm-to-farm migrations within any given area; and (4) the annual and seasonal flow of migratory agricultural laborers. Other types, such as the edging forward of the frontier, the mad rush to a newly opened territory, or a trek to far-distant parts of the continent are largely a matter of history in the United States, although they still are of tremendous significance in parts of South America, Asia, and Africa.

Of the many aspects or problems calling for attention by rural sociologists, the following may be mentioned as of paramount importance: (1) the measurement of the amount of migration to and from the specific states, counties, and cities which go to make up the nation; (2) the nature of the selective processes at work in the rural-urban exchange of population and in other types of migration, how these vary from time to time and place to place, and the factors associated with the variations; (3) the absolute and relative importance of the movement of operators and laborers from farm to farm within a given area, the extent to which this is associated with vertical social mobility, and other social, demographic, and economic phenomena related as causes or effects to the shifting of families from farm to farm; and (4) migratory agricultural laborers, their number and how it is changing, the principal currents and their seasonal ebb and flow, and the social and economic effects of their mode of existence, with respect both to

the migrants themselves (especially the children) and the neighborhoods and communities through which they pass.<sup>11</sup> Each of the four may be commented upon briefly.

Our inability to handle the migration factor effectively is the chief drawback to adequate population accounting on the community, county, and state levels. The amount of effort rural sociologists have put into demographic study during the last two decades, and the preeminence they have attained in the United States and the world as a result, make it unnecessary to say more about the necessity of being able to measure the migration to and from each significant state and national territory. It hardly needs mentioning that for most rural sociologists, as well as for the people in general, the county data are by far the most significant of those gathered and published by the Bureau of the Census or any other agency.

The little we know about the general problem of selectivity of migration is due largely to the efforts of a few rural sociologists; and for some time to come it is likely that rural sociologists will need to concern themselves with the broader as well as the particular aspects of this problem.<sup>12</sup> As is well known, most societies are characterized by rural-urban differentials in fertility which result in the rural population producing far more than its proportionate share of the oncoming generation. This phenomenon has been pronounced in the United States for 150 years. Therefore any tendency whatsoever for migration from the country to the city to comb over the population—taking the “better lives”

<sup>11</sup> A few of the more comprehensive general treatments of migration, with much valuable bibliographical material included, are the following: Pitirim A. Sorokin and Carl C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), pp. 523-607; Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carl C. Zimmerman, and Charles Josiah Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. III (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minn. Press, 1932), pp. 458-627; Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, Bull. 43 (New York: The Social Science Research Council, 1938), pp. 1-423; P. K. Whelpton, *Needed Population Research* (Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press Printing Co., 1938), pp. 123-156; T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 160-195; and Smith, *Population Analysis*, op. cit., pp. 289-368.

<sup>12</sup> The most comprehensive summaries of the findings in the field of selective migration will be found in Sorokin and Zimmerman, op. cit., pp. 540-583; and Thomas, op. cit. The most up-to-date summary is C. A. McMahan, “Selectivity of Rural-to-Urban Migration,” in T. Lynn Smith and C. A. McMahan (eds.), *The Sociology of Urban Life: A Text with Readings* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 334-341.



and leaving those of less innate ability or natural endowments—is fraught with serious consequences; and one need not be a partisan of an extreme zoological interpretation of history in order to recognize its importance.

Unfortunately, we have barely scratched the surface in the study of this subject, and those who attempt investigations along this line in the future will need to be much more ingenious than those of us working on the problem in the past have been, or it is not likely that any great accretions to knowledge on the subject will take place. Basically, we need to determine the ways in which and the extent to which those who leave the rural districts for the towns and cities differ from those who remain on the farms. Some of the less important aspects of this problem, such as the age and sex selectivity of the migration, are fairly well demonstrated; but relative to the characteristics indicative of physical health and vigor and natural endowments or native intelligence, little or nothing worthy of mention has been discovered. It is not enough to show that the migrants rate higher or lower on the conventional intelligence tests than do those who remain at home. Most of the tests are highly biased in favor of urban lore and activities. It is not sufficient to prove that the migrants receive more education than do those who remain in the rural communities. Formal schooling itself is to a large extent a function of migration, and not a cause of it. It is not adequate to demonstrate that the basic interests of those who leave the country are different from those of the ones who stay at home. How are we to evaluate whether an interest in mechanics which may keep a modern boy on the farm is of a higher or lower type than that in books which may take his brother to the city? The rural sociologists who can devise ways and means of determining the essential facts about the selectivity of migration, or the lack of it, will make fundamental contributions to our growing body of knowledge.

In the writer's estimation, the few studies of the circulation of the farm population in local areas are among the most significant contributions rural sociologists have made.<sup>13</sup> It is important that we have more

of them, in various parts of the country, and with migration treated first as the dependent variable and then as the independent variable in the analyses.

The recent report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, *Migratory Labor in American Agriculture*,<sup>14</sup> highlights the growing importance of the floating population of rural America. It is likely to continue waxing in importance generally and to make its effects felt in more and more parts of the country. In the writer's opinion, there is a great opportunity awaiting those who will devote themselves to the sociological study of this phenomenon.

## 2. AVAILABILITY AND COMPARABILITY OF DATA

The data on migration are probably the most deficient in amount and quality of those relating to any major aspect of population study. As is well known, it was not until 1940 that the United States Census included a question on migration on the population schedule, and the results obtained are hardly such as to enable us to answer most of the elementary questions about the subject. The 1950 materials are likely to be even more unsatisfactory. Suffice it to say that these materials cannot be employed, along with those on deaths and births, to make a population balance sheet for a given county during the decade from 1930 to 1940 nor that from 1940 to 1950. Nor is one safe in assuming that the figures on the net flow of population between rural and urban areas in the nation as a whole for the period 1935 to 1940 or during the 12 months preceding the 1950 census are accurate.<sup>15</sup> Information that can be relied upon is the extent to which people moved from one state to another during these two periods, and the absolute and relative importance of migrants (i.e., persons moving from one county or quasi-county to another) at each of the census dates. If all we wished or needed to know about migration were its incidence, the data from the two most recent censuses would be of considerable value. However, even more than materials which treat migration as one of the characteristics of the population, some of us would like to have data which would enable us to analyze migration as one of

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, C. E. Lively, "Spatial Mobility of the Rural Population with Respect to Local Areas," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII:1 (July, 1937), pp. 89-102; and Homer L. Hitt, *Recent Migration Into and Within the Upper Mississippi Delta of Louisiana*, La. AES Bull. 364, Baton Rouge (June, 1943).

<sup>14</sup> Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Smith, *Population Analysis*, op. cit., pp. 297-298.

the factors in population change.<sup>16</sup> It seems unlikely that such will be forthcoming in the foreseeable future. In the meantime, census materials on state of birth and state of residence and length of time of the operators on their present farms may be analyzed in ways that contribute somewhat to our knowledge of migration.

There are accumulating in many offices throughout the nation important bodies of secondary materials that may well be used to help us gain additional understanding about many of the important aspects of the general topic. Among those that might be mentioned in this respect are the materials in the employment offices in the various states, the school census data, and even the personnel records of large business firms. (At the present time, for example, the personnel manager of one large company in New York City is cooperating with the writer in a small study of the migration of its retired employees.)

Basically, however, the field of migration study awaits rural sociologists who have the ingenuity and insight to develop new and effective ways of assembling the necessary data, or the time, energy, and financial support to plan and execute the necessary field work.

Apart from the materials assembled by the Bureau of the Census in its enumerations, it is to be hoped that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life will continue to assemble and publish data on the exchange of population between the farm and nonfarm parts of the nation at least as complete and as accurate as those it secured for the years 1920 through 1948.

### 3. METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Very little methodology specific to migration and growing out of studies in that area is deserving of mention or application. In large part this is because of the defective nature of the data and the fact that most of the attention of the investigators

had to be devoted to various ways of approximating or estimating the extent to which migration has been a factor in various demographic changes. Worthy of mention in this connection is the method of estimating migration by comparing the number of persons in a certain age group at a given census, decreased by the expected mortality over a ten-year period for the specific age groups involved, with the same contingent at the next census when they are ten years older. This has been employed by a number of rural sociologists to add materially to our knowledge of the volume and direction of migratory currents in the population.<sup>17</sup> It probably will have to be used considerably more if we are to make much more progress in this area.

Also worth consideration is the device of comparing the age configuration of segments of a population with that of the whole, and inferring that migration is the factor responsible for persistent concentrations or deficiencies such as the exceedingly high proportions of people in the productive ages in the urban population and of elderly people in the rural-nonfarm population, or the low percentage of persons in the productive ages in the rural-farm population.<sup>18</sup>

The simple expedient of taking the population of a county at a given census, adjusting the number by the natural increase (births minus deaths) for the ensuing decade, comparing the result with the population enumerated at the next census, and attributing the difference to migration will hardly appeal to many rural sociologists. Although such an index was used in all seriousness as a principal basis for one of the most ambitious studies of migration ever made in the United States, the Pennsylvania Study of Population Redistribution, it has in the past been largely

<sup>16</sup> As an absolute minimum, the Census should obtain from each person and publish by counties and quasi-counties data that would show the number of persons who had migrated from another county following the date of the immediately preceding census. Additional facts, roughly in the order of their importance, that should be given as quickly as practicable are: the sex classification of such persons, their color and national origins, and their ages. Whereas the essential data about the other two factors in population change, births and deaths, are secured by the National Office of Vital Statistics, only the Census can get and disseminate the necessary material about migration. For this reason the task of doing it should be given a high priority among the undertakings of the Bureau of the Census.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, C. Horace Hamilton, *Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina, 1920 to 1930*, North Carolina AES Bull. 295 (Feb., 1934); P. G. Beck, *Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio*, Ohio AES Bull. 533, Wooster (May, 1934); T. Lynn Smith, "The Migration of the Aged," in T. Lynn Smith (ed.), *Problems of America's Aging Population* (Gainesville: Univ. of Fla. Press, 1951), pp. 15-28; and Homer L. Hitt, "America's Aged at Mid-Century," in T. Lynn Smith (ed.), *Living in the Later Years* (Gainesville: Univ. of Fla. Press, 1952), pp. 20-27.

<sup>18</sup> Examples will be found in Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life*, op. cit., pp. 76-80; C. A. McMahan, *The People of Atlanta* (Athens: Univ. of Ga. Press, 1950), pp. 180, 190-191; and Homer L. Hitt, "Migration and Southern Cities," in Smith and McMahan (eds.), *The Sociology of Urban Life*, op. cit., pp. 332-334.

an indicator of the extent to which births were not registered throughout the nation.<sup>10</sup>

For the most part, however, appropriate and revealing methods of research, and even specific devices for use in the study of migration, must still be developed by those who devote their attention to the field. First and foremost we need to know

how to measure migration, and the sources of data which can be used in the development of suitable indexes of its extent. After this we probably will be able to employ profitably many of the conventional statistical, graphic, and other analytical devices in determining the independent variables associated with migration, and in determining how migration as an independent variable is responsible or partially responsible for variations in other demographic and social phenomena.

<sup>10</sup> See Carter Goodrich *et al.*, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pa. Press, 1936), pp. 685-686 and Plate VIII-A.

## APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

*Edited by Paul A. Miller*

### NEED FOR CHANGE IN STATE LAW RELATING TO COMMUNITY-UNIT SCHOOLS

*by David E. Lindstrom†*

Prior to 1939, the Illinois Agricultural Association opposed school district reorganization which would centralize administrative authority in the state or in units too large to permit intimate knowledge of school affairs—and lively interest in them—on the part of the people in the district.<sup>1</sup> The 1944 Report of the Illinois Agricultural Association School Committee recommended, as the most desirable type, an administrative district for grades one to twelve, inclusive, with high schools having not fewer than 150 pupils.<sup>2</sup> Such districts, it was assumed, would approximate the size of natural rural communities as determined by the habits of association of farm people themselves.

Studies of natural areas of association—neighborhoods and communities—were made by the Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Illinois. These "natural areas" were compared with school districts having differences in tax rates, assessments, average daily attendance, and conditions of soil, and also with community-unit districts recommended by county survey committees, as voted by the people under the 1945 and 1947 laws. These studies demonstrated the sizes of rural communities as recognized by the farm people who live in them.

Data for counties in which the studies were made came from various sources: (1) Data on kinds of districts, enrollments and attendance, assessed valuations, and tax levies came from state and county school superintendents' offices; (2) data on high-school attendance areas, natural neighborhoods and communities, and local trade areas were secured from farm people by personal interviews or questionnaires; (3) data on recommendations for reorganization, to be compared with the reorganizations that take place and with the natural areas of association, came from county school-survey committee reports; and (4)

soil maps were prepared especially for this study by R. S. Smith, College of Agriculture, University of Illinois.

Data for the three counties in which comparisons were possible show clearly that areas with high assessed valuations are areas of the best soils, the fewest children, and the lowest tax rates. Conversely, areas with high tax rates are those with low assessments, the most children, and the poorest soils. Wide ranges can be found in soil conditions, tax rates, valuations, and enrollments in almost every county, as well as between counties and areas of the state. Such differences call for financial arrangements on a state-aid basis that will smooth out these differences in ability to support schools. These differences are inadequately recognized in present state laws.

School district reorganization was "forced" on farm people, partly or largely because of declining elementary school enrollments. The decrease in school-age children has been due primarily to (1) increase in size of farm, (2) decrease in number of farms, and (3) decrease in size of farm family. The farm family, however, still supplies more children than can find a place in farming, as is shown by a comparison of rural and urban fertility ratios in the counties studied. In general, the population surplus is still in the open country, the greatest surplus being on the poorest lands. Obviously, then, school support and equalization of educational opportunities must be viewed broadly, rather than provincially; county-wide and state-wide planning for equalization of support is essential.

Increases in taxation for improvement of schools will fall heavily on property owners. Areas of good land usually have lower tax loads, proportionately, than do poor land areas. For example, in McDonough County, Illinois, the two districts studied in the poor land area had to tax themselves to the legal limit; those on the good land had rates of only one-half or one-third the rates assessed on poor land. The ratios were much higher in areas of poor land, as in Fayette County, and in areas with oil wells. Since the lowest percentage of tenancy is on poor land, the farm owner-operators in these areas bear the highest tax rates. Tenants have no real estate taxes for schools. These are situations calling for equalization of real estate taxes for school purposes. The principles of equal tax rates on all real

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<sup>1</sup> Illinois Agricultural Association Record, Annual Meeting Issue, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Illinois Agricultural Association School Committee, Dir., 1944, I.A.A., Chicago.

estate, an upper limitation on tax rates for school purposes, and the provision from state sources of additional finances needed for a good school program have not yet been realized in state law. These are factors holding back school district reorganization, especially in the poor land, low-valuation areas of the state.

The delineation of natural areas of association by the methods used in the study—mapping actual high-school attendance areas, neighborhoods and communities, and economic (trade) and social-service areas—is a valuable, if not an essential prerequisite to the formation of satisfactory rural community-unit school-district lines. In McDonough and some other counties, the natural areas of association mapped in the Agricultural Experiment Station studies were used as the basis for the formation of the new community-unit districts. It is significant that these natural areas cut across arbitrary legal boundary lines, including county lines.

Not all natural communities as mapped in the various counties could form community units under the provisions of the 1947 law. Were sufficient valuation or population available, communities with very small village centers (such as Bardolph, population 246 in 1950) would prefer to have and to control their own school systems. Consideration should be given, with respect to areas not yet reorganized, to some means of (1) providing well-integrated rural communities, such as frequently can be found with village centers as low as 500 in population, with the means of organizing community-unit school systems; (2) working out ways of providing financial support for communities that have adequate population but lack sufficient valuation; and (3) providing, through some form of intermediate district, the specialized services for these communities which they cannot provide for themselves.

In attempting to use the natural areas of association among rural people as a basis for school district reorganization, one must take into account the operation of other factors—such as absentee ownership of land, an inflexible state law forcing people in smaller communities to extend boundaries beyond the natural community limits, and the tendency of officials to be arbitrary in administering laws (e.g., refusing to allow petitions for change of boundary lines to conform to community boundaries). If the people of a rural community, backed by a suitable state law, are free to work for good schools and equal educational opportunities for themselves and their children,

the boundaries they determine usually will conform to the natural boundaries of the community. But if there are other dominating factors—such as the desire of landowners to hold down tax rates or to remain in the district with the lowest tax rate, irrespective of the community—the boundary lines are likely to be artificial and unwieldy, and the result often will be a sacrifice of educational opportunities for the children involved, a breaking up of neighborhoods (in some cases, communities), and the development of schisms within or between communities.

It is important that the reorganized districts be of adequate, or optimum, size. The matter of size may be considered from the economic point of view—whether the size is such that adequate financial support will be available and economy of operation possible—and from the social point of view—whether the size is such that the people can have a feeling of "belonging" and a sense of participation in the control and use of the school and its resources. The Illinois studies indicate that no hard-and-fast size definitions can be set, if irreparable injury to "border line" communities is to be avoided. Frequently, an otherwise excellent smaller community may be forced by an inflexible state law to join with or be divided by another community in order to meet the conditions of the law. Villages having populations ranging between 500 and 2,500 are looked on by the farm people studied as the most desirable social and economic service centers (i.e., where religious, educational, and immediate trade needs can be met). Special educational services that the smaller of these communities cannot furnish might be provided through the office of the county superintendent of schools; this office could function, in some degree, as a kind of "intermediate district."

Present state laws require a minimum of \$6,000,000 property valuation and 2,000 population for the formation of a new district. These laws should be amended to allow a "border line" or undervalued community to form a district, if there is to be continued satisfactory school district reorganization. For example, it should be made possible for the people of a district where the natural boundaries include less than 2,000 population to appeal to some state commission or official for special permission to organize. Where a district conformed to natural community lines but lacked the requisite valuation, additional state aid might be provided to make possible a good foundation program. Doubt-



less this would induce many communities in poor land areas to form districts.

Rural people will form the community-unit type of district if conditions are favorable. The fact that, in 63 counties, county- or community-unit systems were recommended by county school-survey committees, on most of which farmers were in the majority, is evidence of the support for this kind of district. That most of the 250 community-unit districts formed have been in the good land areas of the state is evidence of the willingness of rural people to form such districts on a community or town-country basis, when they can meet the requisite conditions. In northern and central Illinois, the chief limiting factor to the organization of unit districts to conform to natural community boundaries is, without question, the required minimum of 2,000 population; in southern Illinois, and poor land areas in general, the chief limiting factor doubtless is the valuation requirement. Votes cast by farm people, who not only stand the chance of losing

their country school but also face the necessity of higher taxes when community-unit districts are formed, show that the desire for better schooling for their children frequently outweighs both of these retarding influences. The process of reorganization unquestionably would have been speeded by a more flexible state law relating to population and valuation.

For the sake of brevity, supporting data for the interpretations and conclusions drawn here have been omitted. Evidence is available from the Agricultural Experiment Station studies, and can be presented upon request, to support the conclusions. No effort has been made to formulate revisions of the state laws based upon the above observations; but the principle of adaptability—to natural communities and to their populations and valuations, especially by the method of providing specialized services through an intermediate district—could, it is believed, be applied to the formulation of new laws or amendments to present school laws.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Eugene A. Wilkening

*Societies Around the World.* By Irwin T. Sanders et al. Vols. I and II. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953. Pp. xii + 528 and xii + 608. \$5.90 each.

This handsome, two-volume set describes six different societies by means of some 160 readings, linked together by short expository statements. Each volume contains an introduction orienting the reader to the use of the materials. Prepared and edited by three anthropologists, two geographers, and one sociologist (though the latter is the senior editor), this work is the outgrowth of a social-science orientation course at the University of Kentucky.

The editors state that "We have sought to build in the minds of beginning students a clear, meaningful concept of the social universe as an area of scientific study. Convinced that such a conception best prepares students for further work in history, government, social anthropology, and other fields, we have stressed *society* [reviewer's italics] as the chief subject matter of the social sciences." They are careful to point out that the "work does not try to teach the social sciences *per se*; the intention is, rather, to prepare the student for later study." To this end, they have treated six societies: "The Eskimo," "The Navajo," and "The Baganda" (Vol. I); and "The Chinese Peasant," "The Cotton South," and "The English Midlands" (Vol. II). Chosen because they are deemed to represent the chief types of societies and major habitat areas, the societies are presented in order of social complexity, beginning with the simple social organization of the Eskimo and terminating with the highly industrialized organization of the English Midlands. "Intermediate societies are the Navajo Indian, with a simple clan system, the Baganda of East Africa, who had a well-defined political kingship as well as a clan system long before the white man came, the familistic Chinese peasant, and the rapidly changing plantation society of the Cotton South."

Sensing that the reader probably would be interested in individual items, as this reader was, the editors gently warn that "this book is not merely to take you on a conducted tour of the world," but that the real purpose is to indicate "in bold outline the nature of this human universe we call society." Moreover, they state that "Throughout this book emphasis will be

laid upon understanding each society as a whole." Superficially, this may seem to contradict the directions on "How to Use This Book," which suggest that the reader "leaf through the book casually and read the selections that strike your fancy. If you are interested in marriage customs, notice how these compare in the societies described here." However, this strategy is mainly for the purpose of whetting the reader's appetite, and, after he has followed such a topic through several societies, he will be forced to the conclusion that "only by a systematic study of these societies as *wholes*" will he be able to gain a thorough understanding of the social practice in question.

On the other hand, it is emphasized that the societies are treated so that they may be compared. To this end there is included in Volume I, under "How to Study a Society," a topical outline with the following major headings: (A) Who are the people? (B) What is their physical environment? (C) How do they make their living? (D) What are their social organizations and their social processes? (E) What sociocultural changes have taken place? Actually, the readings are classified, for each society—with some deviations—under the following headings: The People, Habitat, Maintenance Institutions (Economy), Social Organization, and Sociocultural Change. As for the readings themselves, this reviewer has found them most interesting from the standpoint of individual content. Their selection unmistakably reflects the wide and able scholarship of the editors.

The over-all theoretical framework of the presentation is less convincing. To this reviewer, the task to which the editors have addressed themselves—"to build in the minds of beginning students a clear, meaningful concept of the social universe as an area of scientific study"—is, as it is approached, well nigh impossible. That the objective is laudable, there can be no question. But the implementation indicated, when imposed upon the beginning social science student, may well overwhelm him. To begin with, the focal point of the study is *society*, a most difficult concept to pin down, if the variety of definitions extant may be used as a clue. Added to this difficulty is the nature of the approach—that of all the social sciences at once, and this to

students who are not familiar with the individual social science disciplines. The editors carefully state that they are not attempting to teach social science *per se*. On the other hand, if such a presentation is to stimulate "later study" and respect for social science, the student must be introduced to it in such a way as to insure his recognition and appreciation of the scientific elements in it. That the editors are aware of this is evident; but whether they have achieved the objective is something less than certain.

Further complications may be added by the employment of six vastly different societies. The general educational value of this is unquestioned. Moreover, the excellence of the readings might well prove to be a stimulus, now needed more than ever, to further study of our own and foreign cultures. But, whether the student can or will emerge from this avalanche of information with an understanding of and respect for the aims of the social sciences is a moot question.

The outline presented for the study of a society is entirely logical. To the uninitiated, for whom it is intended, it might even appear relatively simple. However, if the objective is that of viewing the presentation as an integrated whole, the diversity of terminology and the variety of subject-matter approaches employed in describing these societies may well tax the erudition of an experienced social scientist. On the other hand, the readableness of these two volumes, made possible by a skillful selection of materials, excellent explanatory statements, and a clear over-all plan of exposition, may well gain wide acceptance for this work as a text in those colleges offering courses in general social science.

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*Approaches to Community Development.*

Edited by Phillips Ruopp. The Hague, Bandung (Netherlands): W. Van Hoeve, Ltd., 1953. Pp. xvi + 351. \$3.00.

Promoted economic development, with the application of technical know-how to the underdeveloped natural resources of underdeveloped areas, is not a new thing. There has been a vast colonial, missionary, and private-enterprise experience for well over 100 years. Community development is a process or technique that has come out of this experience. It came from the discovery that the most effective way of ac-

complishing the acceptance and application of new technical knowledge is to involve farmers or village groups in the undertaking. Community development, however, means more than local village improvement in a village- or town-planning sense. It includes widening of the community of interests, extension of human relations over wider-than-village areas, and expanding the awareness and knowledge of villagers to wider and more diverse interests than those circumscribed by daily village life.

As has so often been the case, social discovery by evolutionary processes has not been quickly rationalized into technical knowledge. This book—a symposium of eighteen chapters contributed by citizens of eight different countries—is by far the best of four recent attempts to accomplish the formalization of the know-how of technical assistance. The other three are: the March and July, 1950, issues of *The Annals*; *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* (University of Chicago Press, 1952); and *Measures of Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries*, a report by the Economic and Social Council, United Nations (May, 1951). The superiority of the present book is that it is written by competent intellectuals who have also had field or administrative experiences with the problems they discuss. More than half of the chapters are of a calibre such that each merits more consideration than can be given in this review to the whole book.

As one of the authors asserts, practically everywhere in the world, except in the West, the local community is a self-conscious, living, social entity. It is only at the village level that we can adequately assess the consequences of economic development and technical assistance to the people, who are after all the objects of our concern. Confronted by the fact stated in the first sentence of this paragraph and by the generalization of the experience of practical men, stated in the second sentence, the contributors to this symposium have achieved near unanimity in the use of the term "community development." The book is divided into parts—"The Sociology of Community Development," "The Economics of Community Development," "Education for Community Development," and "Regional Considerations"—but in each part "community development" is a term used to cover all the processes and techniques of "increasing the knowledge and power of peasants who almost universally live in local villages" or communities. *Development* consists of more than adding one new thing to other things. Further-

more, "social development, as distinct from social change, is the purposive adaptation to altered conditions or purposive alteration of conditions."

The contributions of this book are so many and so important that it is impossible to generalize them or to list them. Probably the best that can be done to show their scope is to quote, or interpolate, a number of the statements by a number of the authors. These follow:

We cannot export science and hope to see it live unless we help develop the type of culture out of which science has developed. It cannot be assumed that the stages in economic and social development from primitive to advanced culture will follow the Western pattern.

The autonomous individual is not the nucleus of action in non-Western culture. In many places community groups are too closely knit for an individual innovator to break with customs.

It is unwise to weaken traditional values and social structures unless suitable substitutes can be guaranteed. In underdeveloped countries, education in the past has not been an instrument of change. If it is to be such an instrument in the future it must be far more than vocational—must in fact train men to live as ends in themselves not to be merely efficient producers.

Colonialism was slow to learn that in the introduction of new technical, commercial, and industrial traits into a subsistence economy, social and psychological disturbances were induced which negated attempted accomplishments. Its program was one-sided in that it was only technically, not community or culturally, oriented. One economist asserts that even direly needed "land reform will depend on the extent to which communal social systems have declined or are declining."

"A country that has abundant labour and little capital must invest that capital (or credit) in industries where capital cost per unit production is greatest." This should often be in small, village industries. There are places where national development planning is Utopian because it does not thus tie in with its own avowed community-development programs.

To interpret community development as an attempt to restore village life as it was historically in underdeveloped areas is "sociological romanticism." To recognize, as one author says, "the village commune" all

over Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, "with its infinite capacity for self-renewal," is to find not only the geographic but the social and cultural living entity into which the leaven of change needs to be, and best can be, planted.

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*The Economic Development of Ceylon.* By a mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. Pp. xxxii + 829. \$7.50.

The encyclopedic and essentially accurate character of this report of Ceylon's economic position and potential demonstrates what vigorous and painstaking work can accomplish even under stringent limitations of time. This International Bank Mission, composed of twelve men, spent a little more than two months in Ceylon. Their report is built primarily upon preëxisting government data leavened with their observations, and especially with conversations with numerous (and usually unspecified) persons possessing local knowledge. Frequently their skepticism of government claims and data is refreshing and well advised.

Following the 131-page summary of problems and recommendations, a chapter is devoted to each of twelve "selected fields of development," viz., foreign trade and commercial policy; money, banking, and public finance; cooperatives and rural development; agriculture; colonization; water resources and irrigation; power; industry; transportation; public health; education; and technology. For each of these spheres of the economy, a summary picture of existing conditions is provided, followed by an analysis of the main phases of the topic, and, finally, a summary of findings and recommendations for future development. In some instances, these recommendations show fair regard to means of facilitating the achievement of suggested goals. The Mission has been scrupulous in drawing up recommendations with regard to realistic conditions and the limited potentialities of the country. Thus they have realized fully that, however satisfying high industrial development might be for Ceylon's future problems, Ceylon's industrial potential has very severe limits. Even more acutely they have assessed the government's role in industrial development with a critical but constructive eye.

In regard to agriculture, the Mission reasonably attaches great hopes to the col-

onization projects being developed in the dry-zone jungles and, although apparently unaware of many existing organizational failures in the program, offers soundly critical warnings to the government on a number of specific points. A weakness of the report is the inadequate treatment of existing village agricultural practices and organization. The report shows little understanding of the inadequacy of present extension policy and programs and even less of the nature of the tenure reforms and other basic organizational reforms required for a sound agricultural system. This criticism relates to one facet of a weakness which pervades the report. The quality of analysis, and hence of recommendations, is excellent when dealing with impersonal issues of resources, finance, transportation, etc., but it is generally weak on topics or phases of these topics touching upon the organization of human beings in reference to production and its factors. Thus, no systematic treatment of labor is provided, and, so far as the reviewer can determine, labor organization is not once mentioned.

Throughout the report there are reiterations of the significance of institutional and motivational factors in Ceylon's economic development. With the Mission's awareness of the importance of non-economic elements in economic behavior it is surprising that the staff failed to include a single analyst specializing in such matters. While there has been no reluctance to make observations on the immobility of labor, the effects of caste upon occupational status, or the lack of enterprise among the Sinhalese, these observations are no more penetrating and no more constructively utilized than are the impressionistic observations of any other two-month visitor to the island. Problems of education and of population growth, however, are treated in a summary—but generally accurate—manner. The Mission is forthright in recognizing the need for a family-planning program.

There is no question but that the Mission has provided Ceylon with an analysis of great practical importance, assuming of course that the Ceylon government chooses to utilize the insights provided. For the rest of us, the report is significant as an excellent economic case study and compendium of economic facts on a small nation undergoing the great transformation now sweeping much of Asia. Any criticisms made here relate less to what the Mission did than to what the Mission did not do. The report bespeaks the urgent need of further missions to study systematically the

institutional and motivational aspects of economic retardation and development, projects which might well occupy somewhat longer periods of time than was available to this group.

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*Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries.* By Ragnar Nurkse.  
New York: Oxford University Press,  
1953. Pp. 157. \$3.00.

This book is a tract of the times by a master craftsman in international economics. The focus of the argument is on capital formation, and, to this reviewer, the discussion moves to a climax in the brilliant comments on the theory of capital movements and the wise observations on policy in the last chapter, "Action on the Home Front." The interest of sociologists in the volume will likely center on the way in which the author interprets the relations of population pressure and the standards of living to capital formation and economic development.

The formation of capital is used in the conventional sense of directing a part of current productivity to the making of capital goods. The avowed intent is to restrict the meaning of capital to material forms. This reflects both an attempt to deal with the problem of "real" accumulation in the classical sense and a short-run analysis in which the assumption is implicit that there is a large fund of relevant technical knowledge awaiting incorporation and use in the underdeveloped areas. This limitation leads to the financial emphasis, for example, rather than the exploration of the particular forms of social overhead capital.

Beginning with the observation that where people are poor, poverty reinforces poverty in a vicious circle both in the demand and supply of capital, Nurkse proceeds to analyze each of these circles. His conclusions regarding the "Population and Capital Supply" problem may be termed optimistic. This optimism derives from a rather ingenuous argument regarding underemployment of rural people. He accepts as a premise the observation that considerable numbers of rural laborers—estimated at 30 to 50 per cent of the total rural labor force as a maximum—could be withdrawn from agriculture in the densely populated countries of Asia without any reduction in agricultural production and without any changes in technology. If, says Nurkse, we



could put these surplus people to work on capital improvements and still have them eat the same food they would have eaten had they remained in the village, then we can transform present savings (since these unproductive workers now eat) into capital rather than loafing. The difficulties of collecting and transporting the food are also examined.

The ray of hope which Nurkse sees here in turning surplus rural labor into capital account rests upon the solid proposition that the skill and energy of their people are the principal assets of overpopulated, underdeveloped countries. It is doubtful, however, that the total circumstance in such countries makes the technological improvement in agriculture less pressing as a prerequisite to development than in the more sparsely settled agrarian economies, as is suggested, partly because the "pure" unemployment in the villages of Asia seems exaggerated.

In his analysis of the capacity of a nation to save, Nurkse relies heavily upon the "emulative" spending interpretation of Veblen—the "demonstration effect" in Dusenberry's terminology. Nurkse extends this thesis to the point of implying that as long as the "advanced" nations maintain or widen the per capita income gap between themselves and the less developed countries, the underdeveloped countries can put little reliance on voluntary savings (and spending choices) as a source of capital formation, because of the influence of consumption expenditures in the richer countries upon the spending habits in the poorer countries.

The book is rather strictly on the economic aspects of development, especially those of finance, but is sympathetic to the contribution of other disciplines. The author succeeds in emphasizing the primary importance of "self help" in development, even as he discusses international issues. The footnotes provide excellent guides to current economic discussions of development; the indexing is good. This is an exploratory, stimulating, straightforward little book. It seems destined to be influential in current discussions in the years ahead.

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*The English Village.* By W. P. Baker.  
London: Oxford University Press, 1953.  
Pp. 224. \$2.00.

*Small Towns of Natal.* Directed by P. J. DeVos. Pietermaritzburg, Natal: Uni-

versity of Natal Press, 1953. Oxford University Press, New York, distributor. Pp. xl + 113. \$2.50.

Despite similar titles, these two volumes from two widely separated parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations are quite different. Baker's volume begins by giving the setting and explaining the significance of the English village. The third of the seven chapters considers the village at work. There follows a long chapter on the rural community. The closing chapters discuss religion, education, and government. Historical considerations are never omitted.

It is a pleasant book. Again and again, some fact or condition tempts the author into a short essay in the best English tradition; often these are interspersed with appropriate quotations from poems that have made rural life their theme. There is little analysis, but the reader will gain a good working knowledge of how various organizations, private and public, local and national, function in the English village today. This is perhaps the book's most valuable contribution to American rural sociologists, and it is a job well done.

Various definitions of the terms *village* and *community* are considered but, paraphrasing Gertrude Stein, to Baker it seems that a village is a village is a village. Size, layout, and structure have something to do with it; function is perhaps most important. Villages are agricultural, fishing, industrial, and residential. No attempt is made, however, to distribute England's 10,000 villages among these types.

English villages have been declining since before Oliver Goldsmith's day. The decline, it seems, now causes concern to educators, churchmen, and government. All are proposing and trying out various interesting remedial measures, some of which, if successful, will change the essential character of the traditional village that others hope to preserve as it is or even was. While some such measures seem to work in places, they do not in others. The explanations, where offered, are in reality hypotheses. Here and in the frequent lack of empirical data where an American reader would expect it, one result of England's neglect of rural sociology, indeed of sociology, is made clearly evident. That neglect is, of course, not the author's fault. He has used available materials with skill, both technically and stylistically. The volume is the best brief study of the subject available.

*Small Towns in Natal* is one of the volumes of the remarkable Natal Regional Survey, begun before the close of World War II and continued to date, in spite of many serious difficulties, under the general direction of H. R. Burrows of the Department of Economics, University of Natal. Like many of the six volumes and six reports already issued and the eight or more still to come, this volume is the product of more than one department of the University of Natal—in this case sociology and economics.

The average American reader will find himself on more familiar ground here than in Baker's treatise. Indeed, more than nine-tenths of the nearly sixty bibliographic references are to American studies. Seven towns have been selected as representative; based on such factors as racial composition of the population, agriculture, occupational structure, and commercial and industrial undertakings. All these towns are growing—at an average rate of 4 per cent a year between the censuses of 1936 and 1946; the smallest one had a population of over 2,200 in 1946. The study is based on a field survey supplemented by census data.

Natal has more Indians than any other province in the Union of South Africa. The chapters on the sample and the extensive analysis of the composition of the population deal, therefore, with four groups—European, Indian, Native, and Colored (the latter are the products of miscegenation). The widely contrasting situations and needs of these groups may be indicated by two facts. The median age of the Europeans is 30.3 years, of the Indians 16.1 years, and of the other two about 19 years. The average size of the family ranges from 3.4 persons among the Europeans to 7.0 among the Indians. Native families exceed the European families by an average of less than a person.

There is a thoroughgoing analysis of family composition, by race and type of family. The chapters on family income and types or sources of that income are excellent and replete with data. A chapter on housing concludes the volume.

The various authors have not produced a mere statistical survey. They have been careful to define terms and concepts and to discuss their definitions. They are forthright in setting forth their interpretations and generalizations. These are based on their data and stated in the terminology of the two sciences represented. The volume is a welcome addition to our growing store

of knowledge about rural communities and small towns in many countries of the world.

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*Information for Pakistan: Report of Research on Intercultural Communication Through Films.* By John J. Honigmann. Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Pp. xiv + 276.

For many parts of the world today, effective mass communication is a vital concern. Yet, present knowledge of mass communications is largely based upon research or experience in the United States and other Western lands. The present study is an attempt to evaluate the experimental application of a mass communications product of the Western world in a rural Eastern culture characterized by low literacy and a high degree of cultural isolation.

The research consisted of the showing of American-sponsored films in three villages of Pakistan, and measurements of recall, popularity, and comprehension to determine their effects upon the people.

By far the strongest impression one gets from this report is that even "obvious" pictorial symbols can be so culturally linked that they are valueless or even misleading in another culture.

"The County Agent," one of several films that brought consistently poor comprehension, aimed to show the position of the county agent as a "trusted counselor." Patterns of social structure in Sind "do not facilitate acceptance of the idea of a trusted counselor," the author writes.

"Plan for Peace," which describes the United States-British-French disarmament proposal, found little comprehension among isolated farmers who are "more accustomed to being moved about and told what to do by government servants than they are with the notion of formally influencing government decisions."

Interviewees in a village less than 300 miles from the Soviet Union indicated that they had "no idea about Russia."

Even a film called "Promise of Pakistan" drew poor response, the author's hypothesis being that it depends too heavily on words and not enough on action, and that it tries to give a unified impression by means of a mass of other impressions not obviously related.

The titles themselves explain the appeal of three of the films most often adequately comprehended: "Insect Carriers of Dis-

ease," "Irrigation Farming," and "Infant Care." All deal with problems that have a local counterpart. Yet a picture completely out of the local context—"Sheep Trails of Arizona"—also proved interesting and well understood, because although representing an alien culture it showed things familiar to rural Pakistan: a close relationship between man and the natural environment, a simplicity of material culture, and a pattern of hard toil on the land.

The author offers several conclusions on the improvement of film use in underdeveloped countries. Commentaries in local or provincial languages are seen as a great help; the official language of a country often is not the best one for communicating in rural areas. Political films are apparently least likely to be understood in such a setting. Historical references are likely to be lost upon an audience with limited formal education. On the other hand, bringing in some reference to a folk hero or saint or political leader is often very effective.

A large part of this report consists of detailed descriptions of Pakistanian rural life and culture. These sections may have some value even for persons not concerned with the primary subject of film effectiveness.

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*Introduction to Rural Sociology in India.*

By Akshaya R. Desai. Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 46-48 Esplanade Mansions, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay, 1953. Pp. ix + 257. Rupees 8.

This is the fourth publication in the post-war "Readings" series of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. The "Readings in Rural Sociology," however, make up only half of this book. The first half is a fairly competent "Introduction." As the president of the Society says in his "Foreword," it "tries to lay down a general pattern for the study of sociology in rural India."

This is indeed a neglected subject in India. The book tries also to "emphasise the importance of studying systematically a domain of social reality which has been either totally ignored or has commanded insufficient attention." It does a good job. There is a good section on "Rural Sociology in the U.S.A."

It is indeed unfortunate that rural sociology is given such stepfatherly treatment, even in academic circles. But this reviewer,

bearing in mind the history of rural sociology in the United States, predicts that developments will henceforth be rapid. And, even in the "West," sociology has not fought all its battles.

In India, "the family, the caste, the economic institutions and the political organizations; also the religious, the educational, the aesthetic and other social phenomena of rural life have to be studied in their interactions and in a proper perspective." This book attempts such a study—perhaps we should say preliminary study—and the author hopes that more than lip service will be given his subject.

Throughout the first half of the book, the author emphasizes over and over again the importance of studying rural society. He shows how the past history of India, "its complex social organization and religious life, its varied cultural pattern" can be understood only if a "proper study is made of the rise, growth, crystallization and subsequent fossilization and break-up of the self-sufficient village community, the principal pivot of the Indian society till only recently." He discusses the transformation of the agrarian socio-economic structure of India, brought about by the British (for their own ends) and resulting in the "emergence of the present impoverished and culturally backward village" which now lacks "stability and a definite structural design."

"The Indian agrarian economy is at present in a state of acute crisis. This has resulted in the unbearable economic misery of the rural people. The agrarian situation has consequently become almost explosive."

But, before India can renovate rural society, there must be rural sociology. That is the message of this book, and it is an important message. Its importance makes up, in large measure, for the sketchy quality of some of the writing, for an often obvious haste in writing, and for the lack of footnotes. Desai is to be commended on his pioneering efforts in behalf of rural sociology in India.

The bibliography, which will interest an American scholar as much for its omissions as for its inclusions, makes a mistake in not giving dates and publishers. The selections of "Readings" are, as the author himself points out, "only indicative." He has convincingly explained why the "scope of the selection" had to be restricted.

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*Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40: Vol. II. Differential Migration in the Corn and Cotton Belts.* By Donald J. Bogue and Margaret Jarman Hagood. Oxford, Ohio: Miami University, Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution, No. 6, 1953. Pp. vi + 248. \$2.25.

This monograph summarizes and interprets special experimental tabulations on migration, from the 1940 census. The appendix presents 111 pages of migration statistics and control data; additional unpublished materials are available on request. The authors invite further analysis of these tabulations.

This study analyzes migration in the Corn Belt and the Old Cotton Belt, which were defined by grouping subregions used in 1940 census procedures, rather than by states. The Cotton Belt is further subdivided, for some purposes, into the "Upper Cotton Belt," roughly the Piedmont, and the "Lower Cotton Belt."

The migrants, native-white males and females in the Corn Belt and native-white and nonwhite males in the Cotton Belt, include urban residents (and also, in the Cotton Belt, rural-nonfarm residents) of 1940 who had, in 1935, lived elsewhere in non-metropolitan areas of the same state. Migrants are compared to base populations of both origin and destination categories. Each tabulation consists of two major variables cross-classified with each other and with the age of migrants. Space permits no discussion of the migration differentials discovered; they are described throughout and the more important are summarized (pp. 113-124). Many of these findings are challenging; the study should function, as the authors hope, to stimulate similar studies of other regions and times.

Contribution to methodology of differential migration studies was a major goal. Underlying variables, as the authors maintain, are highly interrelated; and only through obtaining "specific differentials"—i.e., differentials established by controlling one or more related variables—can our knowledge of migration selectivity grow. This monograph utilizes the cross-tabulation technique of controlling the influence of related variables. The authors acknowledge the complexity, difficulty, and cost of the technique; but even so, they feel that its potential results justify its use. They also present an easily computed, meaningful index of differential migration, and point out, in a series of generalizations (pp. 124-127), fundamental implications of their findings for migration theory.

Fortunately, no claims were made that this "pilot study" should function as a model of presentation as well as of methodology. Some material is sloppily and, on occasion, inaccurately presented. This reviewer did not search for errors; he examined the tabular material no more than necessary for fuller comprehension of differentials of particular interest to him. Even so, he discovered "boners" difficult to ignore in a work this pretentious. The worst such error was suggested by comparison of Tables MS-1 and MS-2. It turns out that all totals in Table MS-2 (p. 38) are wrong. Since this table was the basis for computing indexes of differential migration by marital status in the Cotton Belt, the corresponding indexes are wrong. Carelessness is indicated in Section III of the appendix, where control data, showing characteristics of resident populations, are presented in the format utilized for migrants, with resulting mislabeling and confusion. Not least among confusing results is the droll effect achieved by sixteen pages of subtotals which exceed their own totals; this is correctible by swapping the first and second lines of statistics in each table and by accurately relabeling each line. Several other noticed examples of error and carelessness were minor; there is no particular reason, however, to suppose that the reviewer happened upon all errors made. Such errors undeniably detract from an otherwise impressive monograph.

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*The Design of Social Research.* By Russell L. Ackoff. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xii + 420. \$7.50.

This book presents prescriptions for social research based on ideas drawn from statistical decision theory, industrial quality control and acceptance sampling, census and marketing survey practice, and what is called "operations research." Its thesis is that social research should be "methodologically designed," by which is meant that every decision made in planning and executing a piece of research should be a self-conscious one, based ideally on an evaluation of comparative costs and returns of alternative courses of action. To adhere to this viewpoint, the author finds it necessary to fill large gaps in current methodological knowledge by advising procedures which have yet to be tested in practice. The volume cannot, therefore, be recom-

mended to the novice, and indeed will probably be of interest primarily to research workers who make something of a specialty of methodology.

Half of the book's ten chapters virtually comprise a textbook of statistics, including elementary ideas of probability and descriptive statistics, sample design, and tests of hypotheses. Here as elsewhere the treatment is uneven. It is doubtful that a reader who needs to have the construction of a histogram illustrated at great length will be equipped to follow the details of an analysis of variance. The emphasis on the basic logic and assumptions of statistical procedures is good, but less attention is given to how an understanding of these should affect research practice than to the formalities of a large number of specific procedures for testing statistical hypotheses. Fortunately the student is repeatedly advised to consult a reliable statistics manual, since the treatment of the subject here is not self-contained.

The other chapters introduce the idea of "methodologically designed research," and discuss the formulation of the research problem, construction of an idealized research model, and the observational and operational phases of the research. Throughout these chapters are scattered sound advice and stimulating suggestions, together with illustrations which are usually so trivial, unrealistic, or unrelated to social research as to undermine confidence in the recommendations. Some of the material is of dubious value. The existing methods of scale construction developed by Thurstone, Guttman, and Lazarsfeld are criticized because the "development of a scale should start with meaning, not with mathematics." The author's suggested alternative appears complex and cumbersome, and is apparently without empirical foundation or testing. A method is given for constructing definitions for research use, and is illustrated by a redefinition of the concept of "social group" which is seriously deficient for sociological purposes. A technique is described for ranking and scoring alternative research objectives, which, it is claimed, insures the properties of additivity and transitivity; but, again, no evidence is available as to whether the suggested manipulations actually provide empirically satisfactory results. Where the author's discussion is concerned with survey practice he is able to draw effectively upon a considerable accumulation of practical and theoretical knowledge about techniques. Had the book been explicitly confined to this type of re-

search it would have been more convincing and useful.

Among the slips and minor faults are the failure to discuss systematically the principle of randomization in connection with the analysis of variance, and the statement that a zero linear correlation represents perfect independence. The author occasionally falls into semantic traps with statements such as "even if . . . the researcher could take an infinite number of observations . . . it might be wasteful for him to do so" (p. 78) and the suggestion that the researcher "expects to obtain the most information for the lowest cost" (p. 307).

It is unfortunate that no example can be given in detail of an actual piece of "methodologically designed research." Lacking such an example, there is probably, for most readers, no alternative to suspending judgment on the novel ideas and approaches in the book. It is to be hoped, though, that its appearance will encourage further efforts to raise the standards of sociological research methods.

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*Population Problems.* By Warren S. Thompson (with the assistance of Evangelyn D. Minnis). Fourth edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. Pp. 488. \$6.50.

It is welcome news to teachers of courses on population problems that the dean of textbook writers in this field has again revised his widely used book. Population dynamics, since Thompson's third edition was issued in 1942, have been so dramatic and unexpected that most of the literature published more than ten years ago has become badly out of date with respect to assessment of population trends.

Thompson recognizes this fact in his preface and reports that almost all of the book has been rewritten. This is true with respect to the bringing up to date of the tables and other quantitative material, insofar as new data are available. But the book is very little changed as to outline, and only moderately changed in tone and emphasis. In the preface, Thompson also points out that he "will even express value judgments where they seem to be called for," and one should not expect the value system of a man of his integrity to be drastically altered in a dozen years—or even in the two dozen years since the first edition appeared.

It is true that the discussion of factors



in the decline of the birth rate has been reduced from two chapters to one, but no chapter or no very full treatment has been added on factors in the rise of the birth rate since the beginning of World War II. This is doubtless due in part to the fact that there have been no studies on the psychological factors affecting fertility during the latter period comparable with the well-known Milbank study in Indianapolis at the end of the 1930's. It is likely due in part to the fact that Thompson, with his longer experience in the field of population, has been less impressed by the rise in fertility since 1940 than many of the newcomers to the field. Also it seems to the reviewer that the chapter on the future growth of population in the United States carries over too much of what some critics consider the pessimism of the 1930's in appraisal of the future growth potential of the United States.

If the present tide of demographic fashion may run somewhat counter to Thompson's appraisal of growth potentialities of the population of the United States, it nevertheless reinforces his long and intense interest in the population potential of the underdeveloped countries. In population, as in many other areas, United States scholars have become much more internationally minded since World War II. Thompson preceded them in this respect by several decades. His revised edition, as well as its predecessors, reflects his broad background and experience with population problems throughout the world. His views can be briefly (although not adequately) summarized by quoting two sentences from the last two pages of the chapter on population growth and international politics. The first of these, with the exception of a minor deletion, is the same in the fourth edition as in the third:

I would not give the impression that I believe the poverty of resources in relation to population is the only cause of war, but I do believe that the economic differences between nations are a source of international friction and that these economic differences in turn often arise out of the changing ratio of population to resources as new differentials in population growth develop.

The second is from the concluding section of the chapter entitled "The Way Out," and in the fourth edition reads:

If there is any way in which population pressure can be eliminated as a cause of war, it seems clear now what it must be, namely, the reduction of the

rate of population growth through the reduction of the birth rate.

The most nearly corresponding passage in the third edition is:

If man is determined to control his death rate, there is only one enduring solution of the problem of differential national pressures of population. It is birth control.

As in the case of the earlier editions, the text is well and interestingly written; students will like it, and many of them will be drawn into the field of demography because of the sincere devotion and enthusiasm Thompson has for it. Instructors will have a much easier time because the text has been revised. The field of population generally owes a debt of gratitude to Warren S. Thompson for what previous editions of *Population Problems* have contributed to the recruitment and training of demographers in the past and for what the fourth edition will contribute in the future.

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*Group Dynamics: Research and Theory.* By Darwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander. Evanston, Illinois, and White Plains, New York: Row Peterson and Company, 1953. Pp. 642. \$6.00.

The recent increase in research in group dynamics has been of interest to many educators, social workers, personnel directors, and administrators. Such problems as group organization, group effectiveness, communications, and goal-setting within groups as well as group leadership have been accorded added importance in many phases of education in our society.

Most of the research that has been conducted in this relatively new field of scientific investigation has been reported in various professional journals. *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* is one of the first books to be published which attempts to integrate the theory and empirical findings of scholars in this field. The editors have chosen as material for the text some thirty-five different articles prepared by fifty-one persons trained in several different disciplines. These articles have been grouped into six theoretically defined categories. An introductory chapter has been prepared by the editors for each of the six sections. In these chapters the editors have set forth the theoretical framework which serves to relate the articles to one another.

Section one deals with "Approaches to the Study of Groups," with emphasis on the concepts and research methods currently being used. The second section is entitled "Group Cohesiveness." "Group Pressures and Group Standards" is the title of section three, which consists of ten different articles. Sections four and five are identified as "Group Goals and Group Locomotion" and "Structural Properties of Groups." The concluding section contains selected articles on "Leadership," with emphasis on traits, functions, and types of leaders.

Although the reader has cause to question the particular grouping of some of the articles, the difficult task of integrating different research papers has been accomplished exceptionally well. As the editors stated, the present grouping represents in their judgment the "best fit." Cross references in the introductory chapter to each section minimize the seriousness of this problem.

Many other studies of groups might have been included had space and the particular organization of this volume made it feasible to do so. Certainly Cartwright and Zander, director and program director respectively of the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the University of Michigan, are to be commended for having performed a very important service to the social sciences.

Many new concepts have been introduced in both the statements of theory and in the designs used in research. This "new language" being employed in Group Dynamics has been adopted, in part, from dynamics as related to the physical sciences. Other words and phrases have been "invented," with their full meaning being limited largely to the inventor and those participating in the National Training Laboratory for Group Development.

This volume will serve as a valuable reference for research workers interested in a description of the theoretical framework, methods, and findings of empirical research in group dynamics. Teachers and students participating in advanced seminars dealing with group structure, standards, cohesiveness, communications, and leadership will find this compilation of articles to constitute a text that is sure to have wide acceptance.

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*Engagement and Marriage.* By Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1953. Pp. xii + 819. \$5.50.

Burgess and Wallin have been engaged in a long-term research study of engagement and marital-success prediction, extending from 1936 to 1946. *Engagement and Marriage* is a report of that research, a reference book for marriage counselors, and a college textbook.

Researchers, whether or not their special interest is in the family, will be interested in the research design. Burgess and Wallin begin by defining their dependent variables—success in engagement and in marriage—and by measuring several independent variables such as family background, personality, etc., which are correlated with them. They add to the usual procedure of predicting the dependent variable from the independent variables, by predicting engagement success in the early period of engagement and marital success before the marriage occurs. They then waited until their 1,000 engaged couples had been married 3 to 5 years (or had broken their engagement) and had them fill out a marriage-adjustment schedule. This procedure virtually eliminates the so-called "halo" effect and eliminates the possibility that the dependent variable (success of the marriage) may influence the various independent variables. It also provides a test of the accuracy of the prediction under conditions very similar to those that exist when the prediction schedule is employed for nonacademic purposes.

Burgess and Wallin find a correlation of +.5 between their marital prediction scores computed before marriage and the marital success scores computed after 3 to 5 years of marriage. This means they have successfully accounted for about a fourth of the variation in the marital success scores, indicating that a good beginning has been made but that a great deal of research remains to be accomplished. The authors point out that, in the lowest-scoring quarter of their sample, their predictions were about 75 per cent accurate; that is, if an individual's pre-marriage score was in the lowest quartile, the chances were 75 in 100 that his marriage-adjustment score would be in the bottom one-fourth. The authors feel that their prediction score can thus be used to locate people who need counseling or other special assistance.

Other interesting features of this research include the use of multiple criteria of marital success, a test of the reliability of personality items over a period of years, and a list of research subjects which the writers feel need investigation. The sample was voluntary, with the usual limitations which that involves. The authors initially limit

their generalizations to the urban, white, Protestant, northern segments of the United States population.

As a college text, *Engagement and Marriage* is suitable for an upper-division course requiring at least an introductory course as a prerequisite. Sociological concepts are employed with the assumption that the student knows what the authors are talking about. Statistical terms are employed extensively, but are usually explained.

As a text, *Engagement and Marriage* is built around three research projects: the new research mentioned above, the Burgess-Cottrell study, and Terman's findings. In the 763 pages (exclusive of appendices) there are 111 tables, 55 charts, and 48 other pages containing schedule items, correlations, or other research findings—a total of 214 pages devoted to such materials. In addition, a large proportion of the remainder of the book is composed of excerpts from interviews, such as answers to open-ended questions. This wholesale inclusion of research materials is likely to give the text an appearance of authority from the student's point of view, but it will necessitate some knowledge of research on the part of the instructor to interpret correctly and adequately to the student the correlations, significant differences, and excerpts from interviews with single individuals. The authors' treatment of engagement is particularly comprehensive, with nine chapters devoted to it. Likewise, the 112 pages devoted to sex relations before and in marriage provide adequate and objective treatment of that subject.

*Engagement and Marriage* is generally objectively written and contains few value judgments. In the reviewer's opinion, it is an important contribution both to research methodology and as a textbook.

IVAN NYE.

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*Marriage and the Family in American Culture.* By Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953. Pp. x + 587. \$5.75.

There is nothing particularly unique about the Merrill-Truxal book, so far as sociological approaches to this subject are concerned. It is a well-written and an excellently documented book covering the field of the family in American culture—courtship and dating, the relationships of marriage, the family as a social institution, the family and personality, and the dy-

namics of the family. The discussion of the latter topic deals largely with problems of personal and social conflict; the family broken through death, desertion, and divorce; and reorganization of the family.

One feature of the book which this reviewer likes very much is the fact that the authors have not only reviewed the traditional Ogburn functions of the family in terms of the degree to which these functions no longer serve present needs, but have added a chapter on the continuing functions of the family. In this chapter they point out the importance of the family's biological responsibility and its role in the transmission of cultural heritage; and they emphasize socialization, the giving of status, and the affectionate aspect of family life as important things which the family still contributes to its members.

If the authors had intended a more dynamic approach to understanding family relationships, rather than a traditional sociological approach which starts out with the nature of marriage and the family, Part V of the book, dealing with the family and personality, might well have been the beginning of this text. The opening sentence of the first chapter is: "The family is the basic institution of society." While there can be no quarrel with this general statement, the question of what is society's basic institution is not one that people who are getting married ever ask. This reviewer prefers the concept of "marriages and families in American culture" to the traditional concept of "the family," which is the approach of so many sociological works.

The style of writing in the book is the traditional textbook style, which bores most students by the time they get through the first hundred pages. However, even with all the documentation and the academic, "objective," impersonal style, this book should have a good sale and be found very useful to sociology departments and in courses dealing with its subject matter. The omission in this and in most other such textbooks, this reviewer believes, is any real feeling of what goes on in married life and how various kinds of families in our society actually live and operate.

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The Menninger Foundation.

*Films in Psychiatry, Psychology and Mental Health.* By Adolf Nichtenhauser, Marie L. Coleman, and David S. Ruhe, M.D. New York: Health Education Council, 1953. Pp. 269. \$6.00.

The inadequate title of this book may give the impression that it is just another film catalogue, but this is not the case. The central core of the volume includes descriptive and critical reviews of fifty-one educational films dealing with vital problems of human personality and of social relationships. They range from such orientation films as *Palmour Street, Breakdown*, and *Shades of Gray* to the more advanced and technical ones such as *Angry Boy*, *The Quiet One*, and *Activity Group Therapy*.

Under the auspices of the Audio-Visual Institute of the Association of American Medical Colleges, guiding principles and practical procedures were developed for reviewing and evaluating motion pictures in "psychiatry, psychology and mental health." A professional reviewer and panels of subject-matter experts were employed for this project supported by funds from several private foundations.

The stated aims are two: first, to make these audio-visual materials of greater value to users; second, to set higher standards of quality for the producers of films in this important area of the human sciences. Included in supplement to the detailed reviews are thumbnail descriptions of another fifty films. Included also is a graphic guide for selecting the reviewed works and determining their suitability for audiences at different levels of understanding. Unique is a four-page index to film subject-matter content. Four chapters are devoted to discussions of film-reviewing techniques and to suggestions for the utilization of teaching films.

Sociologists, as well as others in the human sciences, should find this a useful book. Many of the reviewed films deal with subject matter that belongs in the training of professional sociologists, though they will be teachers and researchers rather than clinicians. This subject matter includes personality formation and development, social and cultural factors in the etiology and therapy of personality disorders, and family relationships. Some of the films are suitable for discriminating use with undergraduate students and others for use in mental-health-education programs with parents, teachers, and community groups which the sociologist may be called upon to serve.

While this work could be subjected to various criticisms with regard to its perspectives and methods of evaluating films, it should go far in helping to discourage the haphazard use of motion pictures as

teaching aids, and toward setting higher standards for their production.

A. R. MANGUS.

Department of Sociology,  
The Ohio State University.

*The Modern Community School*. Edited by Edward G. Olsen. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953. Pp. xi + 246. \$2.50.

The stated purpose of this book is to mark the transition from "the traditional, book-centered school of yesterday to the emerging, life-centered school of tomorrow." It is a successor to *The Community School*, edited by Samuel Everett and published in 1938. This more recent book, the product of seventeen different authors, is the resultant of discussion and criticisms at meetings of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the NEA, at Cincinnati, New York, Denver, and Detroit. It is intended to stimulate and to challenge, but not to provide a blueprint.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I is concerned with a visionary composite of the kinds of schools we need. Schools in three size-types of communities are described. These communities are: Visby, which is a village of 750 people; Timber Lake, which, with its 12,452 people, was officially termed an urban community by the 1950 census; and Metrolita, which has thirty "major sociological groupings" or "local communities" within its borders.

Part II is a realistic reporting of developments within schools across the country—from New York to Texas, and from Minnesota to Florida. These experiences are reported to illustrate three stages of school development—getting started, going forward, and taking stock. For each of these stages of experience, there is quoted below what appears to be the summary statement based on analysis of the situations presented:

One of the most intriguing aspects of community education is that anybody concerned about people and the responsibilities of education in a democratic society can help to launch and expand the community school idea . . .

. . . difficulties are usually . . . found in the second stage of the establishment of good community-school relations . . . Techniques are many and varied . . .

. . . very few people engaged in community activities are making serious efforts to evaluate their practices . . .



This is no easy task, but neither is it an impossible one.

Part III is concerned with a philosophy of education "for dynamic democracy." It traces the contemporary development of the concept of the community school. It summarizes this development from the educational point of view, in terms of "four quantitative levels of operation." It then interrelates and defends this emerging type of school in the framework of our increasing understanding of groups—particularly through the work of Moreno, Lewin, Mayo, and their colleagues.

Certainly any sociologist interested in the application of our increasing knowledge of the structure and functioning of groups will be stimulated by a reading of this book.

A. F. WILEDEN.

Department of Rural Sociology,  
University of Wisconsin.

*The Function of the Public Schools in Dealing with Religion.* By the Committee on Religion and Education, American Council on Education. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1953. Pp. xiv + 145. \$2.00.

This book represents an exploratory study of the position religion should occupy within the tax-supported educational institutions, and an approach to the solution of this problem. The study has as its aim "an inquiry into the function of the public schools, in their own right and on their own initiative, in assisting youth to have an intelligent understanding of the historical and contemporary role of religion in human affairs."

The report, based upon sixteen months of research, includes within its scope the methodology on which the report was prepared, illustrations of practices at the present time, the findings from questionnaires and "opinionnaires," the conclusions from the findings, and the recommendations made by the Committee on Religion and Education in terms of their previously stated aim. A rather extensive bibliography on works most relevant to the study is also included.

The data on which the study is based were gathered from a total of 3,500 educators and 1,000 religious leaders. Caution was exercised to obtain a representative sample of personnel from all sections of the United States and from each of the three major faith groups, i.e., Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish.

Of the 2,309 "opinionnaires" sent to edu-

cators, only 1,133 were returned. Likewise, of the 2,500 "opinionnaires" sent to ministers, only 835 were returned. Thus there were returns of 49 and 33 per cent, respectively, from which to draw conclusions.

The committee's most important conclusion seems to be that, to a much greater degree than is generally assumed, both educational and religious leaders appear ready to find the proper place religion should occupy within tax-supported institutions.

Although the findings of the committee serve their purpose—not in terms of a "general survey" nor as an "attempted 'scientific' study in the sense of precise measurements of attitudes or commitments to action," but rather as an exploratory study—the data may still be questioned with respect to their statistical reliability.

In view of the statistical data presented, the conclusions must be regarded as applying only to those who returned the "opinionnaires," rather than to the original representative sample of educational and religious leaders, or to society in general.

GEORGE T. BLUME.

Department of Rural Sociology,  
University of Missouri.

*Irrigation Development and Public Water Policy.* By Roy E. Huffman. New York: The Ronald Press, 1953. Pp. xi + 336. \$6.50.

The chief merits of this book are that it brings up to date the history of irrigation, describes the programs in the development of water resources, and analyzes public water policy followed in the past and in prospect for the future. It is the first time this has been done in such a comprehensive manner since Ray P. Teele published, in 1927, his *Economics of Land Reclamation in the United States*.

Other contributions include the following: The author gives a good treatment of the subject of integration of dryland and irrigated areas, and the integration that is involved in multiple-use development. This is a relatively recent development in water policy, and has come about as irrigation and reclamation have become important in the semi-arid part of the nation. The author also has a creditable treatment of extra-market values or indirect benefits that flow from the development of water resources. Thus far engineers, policy-makers, and economists have concerned themselves mainly with those values and benefits that accrue directly and obviously to some beneficiary, usually the farmer and the



power interests. There is reason to believe that the indirect benefits or extra-market values from such development are sizeable and that these beneficiaries should also carry some of the costs. If this were the case, the large "windfall" gains would be avoided, and there would be less propaganda organization and activity in water resource development.

For the first time, a book on water policy has given some recognition to the role of irrigation in the humid area of the nation, and the subject of ground (subsurface) water irrigation rights and problems has received some of the attention it should have had long ago.

Unfortunately, like most treatments of the subject of irrigation and water-resource policy, the book is weak on the sociological aspects that are involved. The author was successful in getting past the engineering stage, and past the soils and agronomic stages that have so long occupied the water-policy program. He has done a creditable job on the economic aspects and has made several contributions in this area. But he has not led out on the sociological, and this part is important.

Water-resource development has been in the past, is now, and certainly will be in the future a group enterprise. It involves group and community aspects as implied in the integrated approach. Irrigation farmers and projects have been far too much separated from the rest of the people and the rest of the community. They have, far too often, been loaded with excessive debts, while some people in the adjacent and nearby areas have had unjustified windfalls.

In future developments of this type, the soils, cropping, and technological aspects; the project-construction activity; the produce-marketing practices; the population settlement, and income possibilities; and the institutional service aspects (hospital, school, church, library, and social organizations) will force attention to the group ways of working with people and getting along with people. This is implied in the concept of extra-market value and in the indirect-benefits approach to the subject. The size-of-farm and size-of-enterprise aspects of water-policy programs have not been settled, and their resolution involves a compromise between the innately selfish and individual values on the one hand and the values of the greater social welfare on the other.

CARL F. KRAENZEL.

Department of Economics and Sociology,  
Montana State College.

*The Taming of the Nations.* By F. S. C. Northrop. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952. Pp. x + 362. \$5.00.

This work represents an attempt by the author, well known for his cultural-philosophical analyses of broad-gauge ideologies and his work in social science methodology, to spell out for the general reader the normative and ideological bases of world tension and conflict, and tentatively to propose the manner in which "successful international policy in the contemporary world can be achieved."

Those familiar with Northrop's *The Meeting of East and West* will recognize immediately the approach: Beneath the deeds and words of the peoples of the Far East, the Near East, and the West lie basically differing inner normative orders. These are to be understood only in terms of the metaphysical schemes of which the normative orders are an overt expression. The intuitiveness, formlessness, and indeterminateness of the Far East thinking give rise to a morality of mediation, as against the Western morality of fixed laws and determinateness in human and social relations. This makes for great difficulty in the settling of affairs when East meets West; the role of India in the Korean War is a case in point.

The author goes on to say that the success of communism in the Far East needs to be understood partly in terms of the attention the communists pay to the culture of the countries which they want to influence. Western democracies have something to learn here. American and Far Eastern destinies have an underlying community in that the laws of nature and of harmony can be sought by both without the interference met with in areas under communist ideological domination. For America, however, a reappraisal of Emerson needs first be considered. At the international level, world peace implies a world order based upon law. This law must transcend nationalities in the settlement of international disputes but permit, nevertheless, a form of cultural pluralism that will guarantee the individuality of each people's own brand of culture.

This book represents a good exposition of some of Northrop's major ideas as they have previously appeared in more formidable treatises. Whether or not nations would tame in the manner prescribed by Northrop is a moot point, but there is no doubt of the timeliness of his effort; *ceteri-*

*bus paribus*, America needs at least one Toynbee.

ROBERT HABENSTEIN.

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University of Missouri.

*Whom We Shall Welcome.* By the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1953. Pp. xiv + 319. \$0.75 (paper cover).

Shortly after Congress passed, over his veto, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, President Truman appointed a commission to "study and evaluate the immigration and naturalization policies of the United States" and to make recommendations for "such legislative, administrative or other action as in its opinion may be desirable in the interest of economy, security and responsibilities of this country." The volume under review is the official report of this commission.

Part I of the report is concerned with the eleven public hearings held by the commission and contains digests of material submitted to it by various individuals and organizations.

Part II includes a brief history of United States immigration and documents the shift in policy from one of open and unrestricted acceptance of all comers to the highly restrictive policy embodied in recent legislation.

Part III develops at length the commission's case for the abolition of the National Origins System, which is explained in some detail, and advocates its replacement by a "Unified Quota System." The unified quota would consist of one-sixth of one per cent of the total United States population, with the latest federal census used as a base. Under the 1950 census, for example, the maximum quota would be 251,162 immigrants annually instead of the 154,657 authorized under present law. Allocation of entrance visas would be made without regard to national origins.

Part IV, which is concerned with administration, is extremely critical of existing administrative machinery and policies. Responsibilities in this area are now divided between two separate departments of government, namely, the Department of Justice and the Department of State. Evidence is presented to show that this division of responsibility makes for confusion and duplication of function. The remedy proposed is the formation of a single independent "Commission on Immigration and Naturalization" to be given responsibility for the

administration of all immigration and naturalization laws.

The report throughout is highly critical of the immigration law of 1952 (the McCarran-Walter Act). While the present reviewer is in substantial agreement with the criticisms, those who are opposed to a liberalization of our immigration policy may feel that the commission's report is somewhat "loaded" on the wrong side of the argument.

T. G. STANDING, SR.

New York State College,  
Albany, New York.

*The Rural Community: Rural Life at the Grass Roots.* By J. R. Kidwell. Illustrated by William Kresse. San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1951. Pp. xiii + 181. \$2.75.

People who devote their lives to working in small communities can easily, in their later years, become quite sentimental about life in rural as compared with urban places. With some good literary talent and with an appreciation of the value of little things, they are often inspired to speak and to write about things they have come to feel so keenly.

Such is this book, written by a man who has lived "three score and ten years in ten different farm communities" and who has served forty years as a country preacher. The book comprises brief treatises on about one hundred and sixty different topics ranging from "rural population decline" to "zinnia" and from "Thomas Jefferson" to "false teeth." The simple but interestingly written homespun philosophy of many of these is such as might well have been used as editorials in a country weekly newspaper. Although they are framed in a setting of rural life in southwestern United States, many of them are such that country weeklies elsewhere might live their columns by using them. Certainly this book was never intended for classroom use in rural sociology.

A. F. WILEDEN.

Department of Rural Sociology,  
University of Wisconsin.

*Stokdyk—Architect of Cooperation.* By Joseph G. Knapp. Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C. The American Institute of Cooperation, 1953. Pp. x + 229. \$3.00.

This book on Stokdyk is a bibliographical-sketch of a dynamic leader in the American Cooperative Movement. It highlights some of his activities from

early boyhood to the eve of his demise. Knapp is to be commended for his patient labors in meticulously compiling myriad details from many sources concerning this personality in its diverse activities. His main object in writing this eulogy was to pass on to posterity some of the spirit, the charm, and the intellectual attainments of a gifted man who dedicated his life to public service.

The first chapters of the book reminiscently trace the evolution of the man from boyhood in Door County, Wisconsin, through his student days at Madison on to work as an educator in the fields of plant pathology and agricultural economics and, finally, to the position as a bank executive in California. Several of these productive interim years were spent on the staff of the Kansas State College. The next chapters are devoted mainly to the practical philosophy and the attributes of Stokdyk as an educator and executive. Students of the cooperative movement will find a number of historical facts of considerable interest in these chapters, relating to the ferment of the hungry thirties and the proposals to alleviate the plight of agricultural peoples in those years of adversity.

Net proceeds from the sale of this volume will be used by the American Institute of Cooperation to grant awards to students of associationism.

HENRY H. BAKKEN.

Department of Agricultural Economics,  
University of Wisconsin.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Community Health Action.* By Paul A. Miller. East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State College Press, 1953. Pp. 192. \$3.00.

*Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area.* By Leland G. Allbaugh. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1953. Pp. xx + 572. \$7.50.

*Cultural Patterns and Technical Change.* (Tensions and Technology Series.) A manual prepared by the World Federation for Mental Health and edited by Margaret Mead. Paris: UNESCO, United Nations, 1953. Pp. 348. \$1.75.

*Die Beziehungen Zwischen Hüttenwerken und Ihrem Umland in Südschweden*

*von 1750-1950.* Lund Studies in Geography. Von Olof Nordström. Lund, Sweden: The Royal University of Lund, 1953. Pp. 35.

*Facial Deformities and Plastic Surgery: A Psychosocial Study.* By Frances Cooke MacGregor, Theodora M. Abel, Albert Bryt, Edith Lauer, and Serena Weissmann. Springfield, Illinois: Charles Thomas, 1953. Pp. xv + 230. \$5.75.

*Health in the Later Years.* (A report on the third annual Southern Conference on Gerontology, University of Florida, January 26-27, 1953.) Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Institute of Gerontology. Pp. x + 123. \$1.50.

*Needed Urban and Metropolitan Research.* Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution, Number 7. Edited by Donald J. Bogue. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1953. Pp. x + 88. \$1.25.

*Origin of the Land Tenure System in the United States.* By Marshall Harris. Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1953. Pp. xiv + 445. \$7.50.

*Rural Church Administration.* By Rockwell C. Smith. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953. Pp. 176. \$2.00.

*Rural Social Systems and Adult Education.* A committee report by Charles P. Loomis, chairman, and J. Allan Beegle, editor. East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State College Press, 1953. Pp. viii + 392. \$5.00.

*Såden Torkar, Sådesuppsättningar I Sverige, 1850-1900: en Etnologisk Undersökning.* By Erik Laid. Lund, Sweden: Lts. Förlag, 1952. Pp. viii + 344. Skr. 22.00.

*Sociology: A Book of Readings.* By Samuel Koenig, Rex D. Hopper, and Feliks Gross. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1953. Pp. xv + 607. \$3.50.

*Villes et Campagnes: Civilization urbaine et Civilization rurale en France.* Recueil publié sous la direction et avec une introduction de Georges Friedmann. Paris, France: Librairie Armand Colin. Pp. xxiv + 480. 1200 fr.

## BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Louis J. Ducoff\*

*Population Change in Michigan: With Special Reference to Rural-Urban Migration, 1940-1950.* J. Allan Beegle and J. F. Thaden. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Special Bull. 387, East Lansing. 48 pp. Oct. 1953.

*Rural-Urban Population Change and Migration in Ohio, 1940-1950.* Wade H. Andrews and Emily M. Westerkamm. Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 737, Wooster. 63 pp. Nov. 1953.

These two bulletins are the first fruits from the first regional experiment station project organized by rural sociologists in the United States. In June, 1949, rural sociologists of the North Central Region representing the experiment stations of Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri, together with representatives of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, USDA, met at Ames, Iowa. They decided that studies in population dynamics should be the first approach to rural sociological research on the regional basis. A project entitled "Population Dynamics in the North Central Region and Related Rural Social and Economic Problems" was approved under the Research and Marketing Act of 1946. States included in the cooperative program, in addition to the four already mentioned, are Michigan, Ohio, Kansas, Kentucky, Indiana, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and Wisconsin. Researchers in most of these stations have been working on rural-urban migration as the first phase of this population research. The bulletins discussed here come from this endeavor.

That the bulletins are products of this regional research is made clear by the Ohio bulletin. It cites Ohio's collaboration in the project and acknowledges technical assistance from the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the USDA, the U. S. Bureau of the Census, the National Office of Vital Statistics, and the regional Technical Committee for Population Research. This could not, however, be discovered easily from the Michigan bulletin. Except for a slight reference on page 7, the regional project is not cited in the Michigan bulletin, nor are acknowledgments made of any assistance from outside sources. In fact the foreword, by C. P. Loomis, would give the opposite impression to a stranger

in these matters. It properly emphasizes the long record of demographic research at Michigan State but almost studiously avoids mentioning cooperation in the regional project. There may be a justifiable reason for this on the part of the Michigan State researchers, but if they benefited from the opportunity to cooperate in a project sponsored by the regional group, under the Research and Marketing Act, it might help future efforts of this kind to make mention of it.

In dealing with rural-urban population change, both bulletins consider identical subjects and treat them in the same fashion. The table of contents in each is identical with the other, except for slight changes in wording. Both bulletins give a summary of the findings and an introductory statement of the problem. Then each describes briefly how population grew in the state in early years. Following this is consideration of population changes in the 1940-1950 decade, by the economic areas of the Census or by land classification (in Michigan) and Hagood's Family Level-of-Living Indexes. Changes in birth and death rates are considered next, followed by discussion of change through migration and patterns of rural-urban migration. Agricultural factors influencing migration are then considered. Among these are the decline in the number of farms, the rise in levels of living, changes in the use of hired labor, increase in farm mechanization, and changes in the value of farm products. Final sections in the bulletins deal with industrial factors and migration, and future population trends in the states.

The authors of both bulletins have succinctly and competently presented the facts for their states. The bulletins will be useful to those dealing with changes in the agricultural and industrial life of these two states and with their institutional programs. Both bulletins include appendix tables presenting population and migration figures by counties. These can be of much use to workers who must approach many problems in their state on a county basis.

But the bulletins also show that cooperation between the states on a common problem can produce results useful beyond the states. The core approach to the analysis made in both bulletins is in terms of the economic areas of the states. The discussion and the tables in the body of both

\*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

deal with these economic areas. If this pattern is followed—as this reviewer presumes it will be—in the studies being made in the other cooperating states, then a foundation will be laid for presenting a description of total population changes for the whole North Central Area. This will be a useful accomplishment, for it will make possible comparison of population behavior within a region irrespective of political boundaries. While it is the reviewer's opinion from experience with presenting New York data on an area basis that this approach is not yet fully appreciated by many persons who use population-change material, nevertheless he is sure the approach is gaining acceptance and will prove its benefits.

W. A. ANDERSON.

Department of Rural Sociology,  
Cornell University.

*Older Youth in Rural Louisiana: Their Number, Characteristics, and Needs.*  
Alvin L. Bertrand. La. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 478, Baton Rouge. 51 pp. June 1953.

This study of rural youth is designed to give basic information which will be useful in action programs. The major objectives of the study are (1) to determine the number and distribution of persons 15 to 30 years of age living in rural areas of Louisiana, (2) to obtain information relative to the economic characteristics of older rural youth, and (3) to obtain information about the interests of youth with respect to topics, places, and times for educational and recreational programs.

The first part of the study involved an analysis of the 1950 census, by counties, for the state as a whole. The other parts of the report are based on data obtained from a schedule study of a sample of 562 white youth between the ages of 15 and 30 in six parishes of Louisiana. The parishes were chosen to represent variations in the programs available to rural youth. In two of the parishes, an intensive program of older youth work had been or was being carried on. In two parishes, moderately active programs of this type had been or were in existence; and in two parishes no work of this nature ever had been done.

This reviewer wonders about two questions of methodology which do not seem to be explained adequately: First, the method of selecting a sample for the schedule study appears to be open to question. Interviewers were instructed to take, in various sections of the county, a proportionate sam-

ple of youth designated by county agents or members of their staffs as being "a representative [reviewer's italics] group of older youth in rural areas known to them." It is not indicated that any tests were made to determine to what extent these youth were actually representative of those in their respective parishes.

Second, the data for parishes with intensive youth programs, moderately active programs, and no programs at all were not separately analyzed, "because of the small number of cases involved." The number of cases does not seem too small for analysis, since there would be about 187 youth for each of the three degrees of intensity of organization. Some of the responses of the youth may have been related to this factor or organization, and this reviewer would like to see the results of such an analysis.

Analysis of the effects of farm or non-farm residence and of socio-economic status was omitted. Although presumably data were available regarding farm or nonfarm residence of the youth interviewed, whether this factor was related to patterns of participation and interests was not reported. Data apparently were not secured that would reveal the extent to which variations in socio-economic status affected their activities and preferences.

The author does present useful information regarding 562 older youth in six Louisiana parishes. Four maps, two photographs, and twenty-seven tables are included. The bulletin is well written, well organized, and should be of interest to workers dealing with older rural youth programs.

ALLEN D. EDWARDS.

Winthrop College,  
Rock Hill, South Carolina.

*The Changing Role of the Small Town in Farm Areas* (A Study of Adams, Nebraska). A. H. Anderson and C. J. Miller. Neb. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 419, in cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., USDA, Lincoln. 32 pp. May 1953.

This bulletin presents the results of a study of a small Nebraska town and its service area. The authors point out that more than half the people of Nebraska live in rural communities. Consequently, they feel that it is important to find the answer to the question "What part does the small town play in rural areas today?" Rural sociologists generally would agree that studies of small towns are important.

The authors cautiously imply that the community under study may be typical.



The title of the bulletin suggests it and the authors state that "The Adams community may reflect general characteristics of rural centers . . ." and that it " . . . is somewhat typical of scores of similar Nebraska places in the 400 to 600 population class." It is, of course, true that all rural communities in our society have some basic similarities, but it is also true that such places differ in ways that are important to the student of human relationships. No two are exactly alike. The range and nature of variation can be ascertained only by observation of other communities.

Whether Adams is typical or not, the study should have value for at least three categories of people: (1) the people of the Adams community, for it is their story; (2) the people of other small towns, who may be motivated to study their own communities; and (3) students of human relationships.

A large part of the bulletin deals with marketing patterns and other business relationships, which are portrayed both in tabular and graphic form. Social participation patterns of farmers, but not those of villagers, are discussed. Some information is presented concerning levels of living of farm households, with 1940 and 1952 comparisons for thirty-nine households. The small amount of data pertaining to the village population came largely from census sources.

The authors conclude that the village or small town has an essential function in rural Nebraska and probably will survive. They state, however, that "A critical factor in village survival and adjustment may be the degree to which there is informal consultation if not equal legal participation among town and village people on decisions that concern the whole community." This is good counsel.

For technical readers, a more complete statement of methodology would have been helpful. The reader is not told how the farm sample was selected, whether data were obtained by personal interview or by mailed questionnaire, or whether any of the sample households failed to respond. Footnote 3, page 17, implies erroneously that W. H. Sewell is still at Oklahoma A. and M. College.

WALTER L. SLOCUM.

Department of Rural Sociology,  
State College of Washington.

*The Study of a Planned Rural Community  
in Puerto Rico.* P. B. Vázquez-Calcer-

rada. Puerto Rico Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull.  
109. Rio Piedras. 84 pp. Apr. 1953.

Castañer is a community established in 1937-1938 in the coffee region, by the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration. Its purpose was to demonstrate, by a model experiment, that it is possible to improve the level of living and the community services and institutions of resettled families and that a coffee farm can be operated as a successful economic unit with scientific administration and the use of modern agricultural techniques. Because of Puerto Rico's present experiment in planned communities under the Title V Program, this study was initiated to determine if the goals of the Castañer experiment had been achieved—after a 12-year period—and to point out where the major weaknesses have appeared.

The study was undertaken in 1947, and a sample of 87 families was selected at random for intensive interview. Additional information was obtained from official records and from observation by the field staff during its three-month stay in the community.

The first substantive section of the report traces the development of the Castañer project against the background of conditions prevailing in the coffee region. The project consisted of dwellings for 212 *granjero* families, the basic community institutions and services, and a large coffee *hacienda* of 1,672 *cuerdas* to provide work for the *granjeros*. Laborers from the coffee region were chosen by a careful selection process and were allocated houses and small plots for cultivation.

Subsequent sections of the report show that to a considerable extent the Castañer project has succeeded. In general, *granjero* families have higher incomes and net worth and better housing conditions than previously. The extent to which there have been improvements in dietary habits and adequacy of clothing is not clear from the responses obtained. The great majority reported that the institutional life and services were adequate for their needs and superior to those at their disposal before resettlement at Castañer. The report indicated a decline in "culturally patterned aggression," with the development of community life in Castañer and an evolving status system in terms of the leadership and participation of families in the social and institutional life of the community.

Lastly the report points out that, while the farm project has been self-supporting, a project farm of this type cannot be expected to support the cost of an experiment

of this sort, with its various reform measures. Such projects are feasible only when the government is willing to make a large original expenditure, a considerable part of which must be regarded as a direct subsidy for improvements in levels of living of the resettled population.

In addition to being of interest from the standpoint of experiments in community planning, this report represents a most interesting and vivid portrayal of family and community living in the coffee region of Puerto Rico.

MARGARET BRIGHT ROWAN.

United Nations,  
New York.

*Interdependence Between the Farm Business and the Farm Household with Implications on Economic Efficiency.* Earl O. Heady, W. B. Back, and G. A. Peterson. Iowa Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 398, Ames. Pp. 384-428. June 1953.

Capital efficiency in relation to the family life cycle of farm-operator families is the focus of attention in this research bulletin. The title misleads by suggesting a broader scope, but does call attention to the commendable basic philosophy that it is fruitful to consider the farm as a combined household and business unit with intertwined and interacting production and consumption decisions. The authors explicitly recognize that profit maximization is only one goal of the family and may be tempered by other goals relating to leisure or to time preference with respect to present or future consumption. They also point out that family goals change as the family ages and changes in composition.

A small group of Iowa farm families in various stages of the family life cycle (as measured by the operator's age) is studied to see how the amount of capital used and the average efficiency of land, labor, and capital vary among them.

In the first section of the bulletin, the analytical framework of the basic economic principles is explained in indifference-curve terms. This is helpful as a refresher and to be sure that the reader and authors have a common starting point, although the reader exposed to this terminology for the first time may fail to read further.

In the second section, sampling procedures used in 1950 to obtain 144 schedules in the North Central Cash Grain Area of Iowa are described all too briefly, and the analytical procedures used are discussed in broad terms. Heavy reliance is placed on regressions based on only 90

farms, those that had only one operator. Farms operated by a father-son or other partnership arrangement are excluded.

The analysis presented in the third section would be easier to understand if there were fuller explanation of data and definitions in relation to conclusions. The charts would be improved with observations shown, or as a minimum, averages. It also would be helpful if the schedule used in the survey had been reproduced.

In view of current interest of sociologists, psychologists, and home economists, among others, in data classified by age or the family life cycle, it is regrettable that more survey findings were not presented in tables so that they could be used for other purposes. The data, even though for a small area, would be extremely useful because so little is available on household inventories and farm investments.

Some readers of this journal may be interested especially in the limited information presented on farm families' attitudes toward capital accumulation and indebtedness.

The meager consideration given to choices between consumption and farm investment is disappointing. Only one brief paragraph touches on the conflict between capital accumulation for the home and the farm business, and supporting data are not presented. No data were obtained in the survey on current consumption expenditures, and only a few questions were asked about household-equipment items owned.

The authors are to be congratulated on spelling out their problem in economic terms to show other research workers how this analysis fits in with the general body of theory. This seems especially helpful in view of the limited amount of analysis available that considers the farm as a combined business and consumption unit.

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*Use of Rooms in Farm Houses by 53 Pennsylvania Families.* Francena L. Nolan and M. E. John. Pa. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 566, State College. 20 pp. Apr. 1953.

This study was undertaken to determine the variety and extent of the activities carried on in farm houses, and also the ways in which the patterns of family living are related to various factors such as family characteristics and the size and arrangement of rooms.

Because financial resources did not per-

mit representative sampling, the authors limited their study to houses and families having characteristics with high frequency in the state. For example, one study which had been made previously in Pennsylvania showed that 97 per cent of the houses were 20 years or more of age and that 87 per cent had at least two stories. The authors limited their sample to families living in two-story houses built before 1925. Further, the sample was restricted to families owning and operating their own farm, and having both a male and female head, no other adults, and at least one child under the age of 19 years living at home. Although there is no claim that the sample is representative of the state, it should provide an indication of the use of rooms in the "typical" Pennsylvania farm house.

The field work was concentrated in five communities, each in a different cultural area. There were 247 eligible families contacted in these communities. (There is no discussion of how these eligible families were selected nor the extent of the personal contacts, if any, with them.) Including refusals, a very large number of the eligible families, 194, failed to provide adequate information for the study. Only the records of 53 of the families were adequate. These cooperating families had younger heads, more education, and younger children than those not included. The 53 families kept a record of their activities, by family members, for each room in the house for a week in the summer and a week in the winter.

The analysis of these records showed: The kitchen is by far the most-used room in the house. The families spent an average of 77 per cent of their time in the kitchen in summer and 68 per cent in winter. Only three families used the kitchen solely for food preparation and eating—the average was 8.3 different activities in this room. The families spent an average of 10.2 per cent of their time in the dining room in summer, and 14.2 per cent in winter—performing an average of 3.4 activities. The authors state, "there is evidence that the dining room has lost its primary function for dining and therefore probably is dispensable." An average of 16.7 per cent of the families' time was spent in the living room in summer, and 22.6 per cent in winter—performing 4.2 activities. The bedrooms were used primarily for sleeping and the bathrooms for personal hygiene.

Some houses, of course, had other rooms which were used for a variety of purposes. Numerous other factors such as size, location, and kind of room; age of children; size of family; formal education; etc., were

related to the time spent in each room and the activities performed there.

The conclusion of the study is, "In planning the various rooms in the house it is necessary to consider the multiplicity of activities which will be carried on in them, rather than plan in terms of the major activity from which the room derives its name."

With limited resources the authors have made a creditable study, its major limitation being that it is largely descriptive with no attention devoted to hypotheses nor actual purpose for making the study, and but scant attention to implications and conclusions.

JOHN C. BELCHER.

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*The Exchange of Farming Information.*  
Helen C. Abell. Marketing Service,  
Economics Division, Canada Dept. of  
Agr., Ottawa. 29 pp. Aug. 1953.

This study is addressed to the broad question: How do farmers get information about farming? To answer this for the mixed-farming area of Alberta, one-sixth of the approximately 1,200 farm operators in two census subdivisions were interviewed. Those familiar with rural practices in like areas of extensive cultivation in the United States are likely to conclude that the findings are fairly consistent with their own subjective judgments about farmers' practices in other mixed-farming regions.

Talking to other people is reported as the most frequent means of getting farming information. These "other people" were much more often friends, neighbors, or relatives than professional agricultural workers. Mass media ranked next as a source, farm magazines outranking newspapers and radios. Direct observation of the practices of other farmers was third in frequency of mention. Attending meetings was reported as a source of information only about half as often as direct observation.

The study inquires into the reasons why so few farmers, only about one-fourth, look to farm meetings as a source of information. It examines the differential characteristics of farmers who do attend meetings, as well as of those who rely heavily on each of the other means of gaining information. The situation in these Canadian communities is in line with the general conclusions of similar studies in the United States—that it is the larger, more prosperous, better educated operators who attend farm meet-

ings. Chi-square as a test of significance showed that these and a number of other cited differences were highly significant statistically.

The study also inquired into the psychological and behavioral characteristics differentiating farmers who use more sources of information from those who use fewer of them. Two characteristics related significantly to number of sources of information utilized were (1) an expressed desire to remain in farming and (2) having had direct contact with the local district agriculturist.

This study has considerable importance for agricultural extension workers, as well as for rural sociologists interested in social change and social organization. The publication is available upon request to the indicated agency of the Canada Department of Agriculture.

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*Seasonal Farm Labor in Pennsylvania.*  
Morrison Handsaker et al. Lafayette  
College, Easton, Pa. 243 pp. 1953.

Agricultural areas producing fruits and vegetables for large eastern markets depend on the extensive employment of seasonal workers for temporary harvesting and processing work. A number of public agencies are variously involved in the process whereby seasonal workers are brought together with employers. In Pennsylvania, one of the most important of the Eastern States from the standpoint of seasonal farm-labor employment, the Department of Labor and Industry arranged with a research team from Lafayette College to describe and analyze the market for seasonal agricultural labor in the state. The aim of the study was "to examine the adequacy of the present and the prospective labor supply and secondarily, to examine the social situation in which workers, particularly the migrant workers, find themselves."

Five major farming areas, identified as representative by the Department of Labor and Industry, were selected for study, and data from two other areas used in the pre-test were also included. In these areas the production of cherries, apples, peaches, grapes, tomatoes, potatoes, green beans, and other fruits and vegetables results in sharp peak demands for off-farm workers during harvest periods.

About half of the seasonal workers are recruited locally, one-fourth are southern

Negroes, and one-fourth are Puerto Rican workers, the study shows. The labor market functions partly through the return of workers year after year to the same farmers and partly through the recruitment efforts of crew leaders, labor contractors, growers' associations, private employment agencies, and the public employment offices. Some aspects of the recruitment process include day-haul of workers from nearby urban centers, recruitment of school youth for work under supervised conditions, scheduled employment of southern Negro crews through arrangements made by the Employment Service, and the contracting of Puerto Rican workers by growers' associations. There are many related facets to the farm labor market, however. Some of the most important of these are licensing of labor contractors; inspection of labor camps; and facilities for housing, health, sanitation, recreation, and education.

Although some mechanical harvesters of potatoes and green beans have been introduced, mechanization of most fruit and vegetable harvest operations is still a long way off. With a generally tight employment situation, organized social action on the part of public and private agencies, employers, workers, and communities will be necessary in order to continue to attract workers to low-paying farm jobs, and to protect seasonal farm workers from substandard employment conditions. The authors draw heavily on experience in nearby New York and New Jersey for clues to the type of coordinated effort needed in Pennsylvania.

Readers interested in the application of social research techniques to complex social and economic problems, with a view toward the development of legislation and administrative programs, will profit from reading the statement of the method used in this survey. Growers in the survey area were selected for interview by a list-sampling method, while workers were selected by a less precise method. Crew leaders, agricultural specialists, and employment service personnel also were interviewed. The variety of schedules used produced an abundant crop of statistics. These are presented in the bulletin, and many of the tables reveal significant insights into the nature of the demand for farm workers, factors affecting supply, and the organization of the farm labor market. However, much of the statistical material is only loosely integrated into the narrative and some of it is presented without any reference to the text. Analytical parts of the study are based largely on the method

of informed reasoning and only partly on the compelling logic of cold statistical facts.

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*Agricultural Activities of Industrial Workers and Retirees.* Daniel E. Alleger. Fla. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 528, Gainesville. 43 pp. Oct. 1953.

Agricultural Extension workers, individuals active in gerontological research, state welfare officials, and others are interested in the types and scale of agricultural enterprises on agricultural holdings below the commercial level. "If we are to know under what conditions a retired person may expect to be happy," the Citizens' Committee on Retirement in Florida surmises, "we must have reliable information about . . . factors that have a bearing on retirement." This question has been broadened by the author to include industrial workers as well as retired individuals engaged in part-time farming in Duval County, Florida.

For the purposes of his study, Alleger defined both part-time and retirement farming as "ways of life in which the participating families lived on small farms, but derived their incomes from two or more sources, the less important of which was from the land they occupied." Such a definition circumvents such limitations as the monetary range of value of farm products sold and time worked off the farm, as prescribed by the United States Census Bureau definition. Thus the operational definition used here permitted the inclusion of all types of agricultural enterprises of nonfarmers regardless of the size of their farm operations.

The study's objectives were to determine the answers to four questions:

1. Does part-time farming provide effective utilization of labor?
2. What are the economic benefits derived from part-time farming by participating families?
3. What is the interrelationship between part-time farming and industrial development?
4. To what extent does part-time farming contribute to the support of retired or disabled persons?

Duval County was divided into square-mile segments, numbered in a serpentine manner, and 80 of the 239 blocks were chosen by a random sampling procedure.

The county has a population of 304,000 inhabitants (U. S. Census, 1950), of which over 200,000 are in the city of Jacksonville, an expanding industrial city and trade center for that area. The farm income in the county is derived largely from dairying (most important) and poultry.

The sample included 307 part-time and retirement farmers, who were interviewed in 1951. A quarter of them had retired from full-time employment; the rest were gainfully employed.

The study touches on various areas of the sample operators' living, such as the home and farm, reasons for establishing rural homes, tenure, family characteristics, amount of land in cultivation, number and types of livestock owned, types of farming, machinery and equipment owned, employment of family labor, etc. Whites and nonwhites were compared. For fifty units data were obtained on the economic value, cost, and sales.

Two-thirds of the home-farm units were under six acres in size; 53 per cent were less than four acres. Gardening was carried on by 90 per cent of the sample. Only 24 per cent cultivated more than one acre, and about 50 per cent planted half an acre or less. Nearly 80 per cent kept poultry or livestock.

The part-time and retirement farms were primarily the residences of the operators and provided farm products for home use but very little for sale. Thus, the economic advantages of part-time farming came more from savings in food expenses than from increased earnings.

The 50 units studied economic-wise were found to have averaged a net gain of \$79 for the year, after costs were deducted. The average cash receipts were \$75; the average value of home-use products, \$319; and the average inventory increase, \$209—totaling an average of \$603 from which the average cash expenses of \$524 were deducted, leaving \$79.

Alleger concludes that part-time farming offers economic and subjective-value advantages; although, for those who want to work only for financial gain, it may lead to disappointment because hourly returns for labor are generally low. The effective use of labor is difficult to assess since part-time farming affords recreation to many in addition to savings in food items and cash returns from sales. Part-time employment elsewhere, technological leisure, and the 40-hour week allow the worker time to pursue farming—along with the retiree—



to the extent he is free to do so or has family assistance in the operation.

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*Sources of Morbidity Data. Listing Number 1, 1953, from the Clearinghouse on Current Morbidity Statistics Projects. U. S. Public Health Service. Public Health Serv. Pub. 332, U. S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare. Washington, D. C. 1953.*

This listing provides information on current projects (in progress or completed since January 1, 1950) involving the collection of statistics on illness, injuries, or impairments. It expedites the two major objectives of the Clearinghouse which was set up by the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics:

- "1. To provide a systematic method of telling workers in the public health and medical field where specific data on human morbidity may be secured; and
2. To afford a convenient means whereby those who are planning studies or surveys involving the measurement of illness, disease, injuries, or impairments can get in touch with others who have undertaken similar tasks."

The projects are grouped by major type of disease or injury. A total of 206 projects are reported under 18 different major types of morbidity. For each project the following information is given: (1) abstract of project with emphasis on methodology rather than on substantive findings, (2) organization(s) sponsoring project, (3) names and positions of principal investigators, (4) publications available or planned, and (5) name and address to contact for further information regarding project. By design, the abstracts omit statistical results of completed studies and concentrate on where such data have recently been or are being collected.

In addition to the ordering of projects by major types of illness, an index by type of data collection and also an index by names of principal investigators are provided.

Coverage of current morbidity work in the United States and in Canada was developed by consultation with more than 600 groups, together with use of other sources—including the Medical Sciences Information Exchange. Since subsequent listings of

morbidity projects are contemplated, workers in this field will contribute by advising the Clearinghouse of new projects.

Examination of the data for several of the projects indicates that this listing will be an effective working tool for all those concerned with morbidity studies whether in research, in teaching, or in service programs. For the researcher, this systematic identification of current morbidity data should reduce haphazard duplicative efforts and should strengthen collaborative work including designed replica studies.

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Farm Population and Rural Life  
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*How Many General Hospital Beds Are Needed? Louis S. Reed and Helen Hollingsworth. Public Health Serv. Pub. 309, U. S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare. Washington, D. C. 73 pp. Sept. 1953.*

The primary objective of this pamphlet is to make an analysis of the volume of general hospital service required by the population of the United States and the number of beds needed to provide that service. The authors begin cautiously with a clear recognition of the difficulties involved in arriving at such estimates. Among these difficulties are the difference in the "actual need" and the "effective demand" for hospital services, and the intangible factors that affect both need and demand—such as the state of medical knowledge, the attitudes and practices of physicians and the public with respect to medical care, and the role of the hospital in medical practice. The authors proceed with their analysis by (1) reviewing previous estimates of the number of hospital beds needed to serve the population, (2) reviewing the present situation and changes in recent years in the volume of hospital service utilized by the population and in the supply of hospital beds, and (3) estimating the volume of hospital service currently needed by the population and the number of beds required to provide the service.

The section dealing with the past estimates of hospital beds needed for the general care of the population gives careful and somewhat detailed consideration to the materials presented in eleven different sources, beginning with the American Hospital Association's *Report of the Committee on County Hospitals for 1927* and ending with the *Hospital Survey and Construction*

Program of 1946. The authors observe quite aptly that the differences among these estimates emphasize the difficulty of determining once and for all the needs of the population for hospital service and reflect a lack of information about chronic illnesses, their relation to acute illnesses, and the volume of care required for them.

Concerning the existing general hospital beds and the volume of services now rendered by general hospitals, the authors note as follows: In 1951 there were 713,422 general hospital beds in the country, inclusive of the beds in federal hospitals and in the hospital departments of institutions. The number amounts to 4.7 beds per 1,000 population. During the same year a total of 116.2 persons per 1,000 population were admitted to general hospitals, and the number of days of service in general hospitals was 1,243.5 per 1,000 population. Using a series of tables and charts the authors show that the number of beds in general hospitals has increased slowly but steadily from 3.5 per 1,000 population in 1927 to 4.7 in 1951, that during the same period both the rate of admissions to and the days of service in general hospitals have increased substantially, and that the average length of stay per case in general hospitals has shown a sharp decline. In this same section, attention is given also to variations among the states and regions of the country with respect to the trends listed above and in the number of beds and the volume of service in nonfederal short-term and long-term general hospitals, to the proportions of the total care in general hospitals accounted for by acute and chronic illnesses, respectively, and to the numbers of elderly persons now in mental hospitals that perhaps should be receiving care in other types of institutions, such as general hospitals, nursing homes, and convalescent homes.

In considering the problem of arriving at an estimate of the volume of general hospital service needed by the population, the authors use five experience bases, as follows: (1) the volume of service utilized in those states in which nearly all births take place in hospitals, (2) the volume of service utilized in states with the highest per capita incomes, (3) the volume of service utilized under the Blue Cross hospital prepayment plans, and (4) and (5) the volume of service utilized under the hospital service programs of Saskatchewan and British Columbia, Canada. After considering carefully the nature and limitations of these several experiences as bases for their estimations, they conclude that the American people need 1,200-1,300 days of

care annually per 1,000 population, in well-equipped and adequately staffed general hospitals and, beyond this, 700-800 days of service per 1,000 population for the care of long-term cases not requiring active medical treatment. The provision of these volumes of service would require from 4.4 to 4.7 beds per 1,000 population for the first group of patients and from 2.3 to 2.6 beds per 1,000 population for the second.

In presenting this study the authors have made excellent use of a wide variety of data in arriving at their estimates of the nation's needs in general hospital beds and services. Recognizing full well the difficulties involved in arriving at anything approaching accuracy in making such estimates, they recommend further investigation and suggest a number of areas in which studies would be helpful in providing more valid answers.

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*Health in Michigan.* Charles R. Hoffer et al. Mich. State College Ext. Bull. 319, East Lansing. 15 pp. June 1953.

This bulletin is another of a series of publications coming from the Michigan Health Survey conducted by the staff of the Sociology and Anthropology Department at Michigan State College. It presents in a brief and highly readable manner some of the more important findings of the study, the majority of which were presented in greater detail in previous publications.

Utilizing a question-and-answer method of presentation, materials are presented which show the proportion of persons having unmet medical needs, symptoms most frequently reported, the relation between age and symptoms, and the reasons for symptoms going untreated; the frequency with which Michigan people use doctors, their attitudes toward doctors, and the frequency with which they use other health facilities; the extent to which people get doctors' services when they need them; and the attitudes of the people concerning the need for more doctors, local health problems, and community health councils. The bulletin is concluded with a statement concerning the implications of the Michigan Health Survey.

In addition to its brevity and the question-and-answer method of presentation, this bulletin, in its use of simple and attractive graphic techniques and tabular forms for showing differences between

rural and urban groups, income groups, etc., has another feature that is worthy of note. The value of these qualities in the effective dissemination of information to the general public cannot be overestimated.

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Division of Sociology and Rural Life,  
Mississippi State College.

*Factors Influencing Personal Religion of Adults.* Marvin J. Taves. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 544, Pullman. 30 pp. Nov. 1953.

This study supplies important data relative to participation in church activities. The employed personnel of the State College of Washington were chosen as a population for the research project. Every fifth name was selected from the staff directory for the year 1949-50, which lists all college employees from common laborers to professional workers. This produced a sample of 162-100 men and 62 women—to whom a comprehensive questionnaire was submitted. Three limitations of this sample should be noted: (1) The number of cases is small; (2) the population consists of employees of a single institution; (3) the opportunity for variety in formal religious expression is limited in a town with a 1950 population of only 12,022 (including college students).

Church attendance, financial contribution, and office holding were used as criteria for developing a church participation score. The higher scores were registered by the women and the urban-reared. Among the women, the older or the more educated they were, the higher was the average participation score. Among the men, participation scores and education were negatively associated, and age was associated in a curvilinear pattern, with greatest participation during youth and old age.

The denominational groups in the community had been ranked on relative social status in an earlier study by Taves, and he used this ranking in examining the status of the churches attended by the respondents. The average status level was higher among women than men, and among rural-reared than urban-reared.

On the basis of eight statements selected by the Guttman scaling technique, from an initial thirty items, the study measured attitudes toward the church as a social institution. Women reflected more favorable attitudes than men, and rural-reared respondents more favorable attitudes than urban-reared. Among the men, there was

also a tendency for a negative association between educational level and favorableness of attitude toward the church.

The women were found to be more conservative in their religious beliefs than the men. The rural-reared were more conservative than the urban-reared, and the younger were more conservative than the older respondents.

In finding that women register a higher participation score than men, Taves agrees with Hostetler and Mather. (See *Participation in the Rural Church*, by John A. Hostetler and William G. Mather, Pa. AES Paper No. 1762, Journal Series, State College, Oct. 1952; reviewed in *Rural Sociology*, Mar., 1953.) They found femininity and participation in the rural church positively associated. The data reflect a situation with which church leaders have long been concerned. Further study should be made to determine why organized religion seems less attractive to men than to women. Those interested in the social effects of rural-urban population adjustment will want to examine the data which indicate that, while rural-reared persons showed a more favorable attitude toward the church and tended to retain orthodox views to a larger degree than urban-reared, they participated less extensively in church activities.

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## NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Samuel W. Blizzard

### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

**University of Alabama.** *An Analysis of Social Problems* by Morris G. Caldwell, professor of sociology, and Laurence Foster (Lincoln University, Pennsylvania) has been published by The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

**Columbia University.** Edmund deS. Brunner is in South Africa. It is expected that he will return to New York in the fall of 1954. He is to help organize and initiate the first projects of an interdisciplinary Institute for Research in the Social Sciences for the Union of South Africa, to be located at the University of Natal. Major emphasis will be on advanced training for a group of fellows. Sloan Wayland will be in charge of rural sociology at Columbia during Brunner's absence.

Early in the next academic year, Harper and Brothers will issue a textbook tentatively titled *American Communities, Rural and Urban, and Their Institutions*, by Edmund deS. Brunner and Wilbur C. Hallenbeck.

The Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life is working on the topic of Rural Education, broadly defined, for the current academic year.

Solon Kimball, formerly head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Alabama, has joined the social science staff of Teachers College, Columbia University.

**University of Massachusetts.** Frederick B. Lindstrom has accepted an assistant professorship at Arizona State College.

Thomas O. Wilkinson and Gertrude McPherson have been appointed instructors. Wilkinson will teach courses in Anthropology and Population Problems, while Mrs. McPherson will teach Introductory Sociology.

**Michigan State College.** Glen L. Taggart, formerly chief, Technical Collaboration Branch, Foreign Agricultural Service, United States Department of Agriculture, joined the staff in the fall as professor of sociology and anthropology. He will devote half-time to research in the Agricultural Experiment Station and half-time in Agricultural Extension.

Kenneth E. Tiedke has been granted a leave of absence for one year to work

with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, in Cuba. He will be associated with Olen Leonard. Donald F. Rieder, who has been doing graduate work in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, was appointed as instructor in the department for one year to substitute for Tiedke.

**Mississippi: State College and University.** The cooperative graduate program in sociology of the State College and the University has been inaugurated. During the fall semester Harold F. Kaufman conducted a seminar in Community Dynamics on the University campus for the graduate students of both departments. During the second semester Robert L. Rands, anthropologist on the University faculty, is conducting a seminar in Culture and Personality on the State College campus. The purpose of these "exchange seminars" is to make the teaching specialties of each department available to the graduate students of the other.

Two cooperative research projects have been organized. Marion T. Loftin (State College) is the leader of the new project on the process of and the factors conditioning a saturation prepayment health-insurance program in a Mississippi county. This project is supported partially by a \$27,500 grant from the Health Information Foundation. Julien R. Tatum (University) will also participate in this study. Morton King (University) and Harald Pedersen (State College), together with John N. Burrus at Mississippi Southern College, are planning to prepare 1950 life-tables for Mississippi and to revise *Mississippi's People*.

H. Kirk Dansereau joined the University faculty in September as assistant professor of sociology. He will be responsible for developing a teaching and research specialty in Urban and Industrial Sociology. He comes from Michigan State College where he was an instructor in sociology while pursuing his doctorate under William Form.

State College staff changes involve the resignation of Raymond Payne, assistant professor, and the appointments of Albert E. Levak, Dorothy Arbitman, and Richard D. Tannehill as assistant sociologists, and Willis J. Robertson as acting instructor. The four new staff members have done



graduate work at Michigan State College, Columbia University, the University of Alabama, and Mississippi State College, respectively.

Robert L. Rands has had part of his research at the Maya city of Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution as a monograph entitled *The Water Lily in Maya Art*. The study examines certain evidence related to possible diffusion between Maya culture and the culture of Southeast Asia.

**Oregon State College.** Hans H. Plambeck, associate professor of sociology, returned in August, 1953, after a year's leave of absence during which he was in New Zealand on a Fulbright research scholarship in rural sociology. While in New Zealand he was attached to Canterbury Agricultural College, located at Lincoln.

Plambeck visited several other colleges in New Zealand. On his return trip to America, he conferred with social research workers at the University of Sydney, the University of Melbourne, the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany, the University of Hamburg, and the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, Norway.

**Pennsylvania State University.** The name of The Pennsylvania State College has been changed officially to The Pennsylvania State University.

Teaching and research assistantships are available in the College of Home Economics, Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, for the academic year 1954-55. Current research projects, in which research assistants may participate, include: relationships within three-generation families; role conceptions of husband, wife, and child; longitudinal studies of nursery-school children and their families; and social-psychological adjustments in retirement.

**Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.** Notice of the death of Walter R. Harrison, on January 1, 1954, has just been received by the News Notes editor.

**Wayne University.** A program leading to the Ph.D. degree in sociology, with emphasis on Urban Sociology and Social Disorganization, has been established in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Among the regular graduate faculty who were granted approval to serve as major advisers are Carl F. Butts, H. Warren Dunham, Joseph W. Eaton, Frank E. Hartung, Norman D. Humphrey, Edward C. Jandy,

Stephen W. Mamchur, and Edgar A. Schuller.

Some forty courses open both to undergraduates on the senior-college level and to graduate students are supplemented by over thirty graduate courses and seminars in Sociology and Anthropology, or in closely related fields.

Graduate fellowships and other employment opportunities in teaching and research are available for the academic year beginning September, 1954, to persons holding the M.A. degree or its equivalent. Any person who wishes to be considered for a graduate fellowship should write to the chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Wayne University, Detroit 1, Michigan.

**Western Reserve University.** Joseph W. Eaton has been appointed visiting professor of sociology in the School of Applied Social Sciences. He is on a leave of absence from Wayne University to conduct a study of the Application of Social Science Concepts in the Teaching and Practice of Social Work. The faculty of the school is actively participating in the project. The Faculty Committee includes Grace L. Coyle (Chairman), R. Clyde White, Werner A. Lutz, Helen M. Walker, Margaret E. Hartford, and Josleen Lockhart. The project is financed for a three-year period by the Russell Sage Foundation.

Eaton will also offer a Seminar on Problems in Applied Social Sciences, in the Graduate School.

#### GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

**United States Department of Agriculture.** Josiah C. Folsom retired on August 31, 1953, after thirty-two years of service in the department.

#### PRIVATE AGENCIES

**Group Farming Research Institute (GFRI).** Three agencies devoted to research in cooperation were founded during 1953. They are: the *Bureau d'Etudes Coopératives et Communautaires*, in Paris, France; the *Sektion fuer die Soziologie des Genossenschaftswesens*, of the Seminar for Cooperation, at the University of Cologne, Germany; and the International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation, at Geneva, Switzerland.

The *Bureau d'Etudes Coopératives et Communautaires* (BECC) was founded by the Federation of the French Communities of Work, the *Entente Communautaire*, in March, 1953. Its research activities include:

(1) communitarian theory and practice, such as history of "Utopian" socialism, workers' movements, and the history of cooperative associations; (2) industrial psychology and sociology, concerning, in particular, ventures in profit-sharing, self-management, and industrial cooperatives; and (3) studies of interpersonal and intergroup relations, using the methods and techniques developed by the GFRI. Beginning with 1954, BECC plans to issue *Sociology of Cooperation*, a semi-annual bulletin.

The *Sektion fuer die Soziologie des Genossenschaftswesens* was established in July, 1953, through the initiative of Gerhard Weisser, professor of sozialpolitik, University of Cologne. The *Sektion* plans to study *Huetschenhausen*, a German village in the Palatinate, which is thought to be the first "cooperative village" established in postwar Germany. This study is being planned as a joint enterprise with the Sociological Institute of the university and will utilize the test-battery for cooperative groups developed by the GFRI.

The International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation was established in May, 1953. The purpose of the council is stated as follows: (1) to promote research in the field of sociology of cooperation; (2) to stimulate exchange of findings and services among organizations and students working in this field in different countries; and (3) to foster the dissemination and publication of research findings in this field, including translation into different languages.

Membership in the council is open to scientific bodies and individuals interested in this field of research. Henrik F. Infield, director of GFRI, was appointed acting chairman. At present the membership of the council is composed of the three active research centers: GFRI (U.S.A.), BECC (France), and the *Sektion* (Germany). The first major project of the council is the International Library of the Sociology of Cooperation. The translation into French and German of H. F. Infield's collection of essays in the sociology of cooperation, under the tentative title *Utopia and Experiment*, is being considered as a first volume in the library of cooperation series.

#### PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS

##### International Sociological Association.

On August 25, 1953, the Executive Committee of the Association, at its meeting in Liege, appointed T. B. Bottomore as execu-

tive secretary for a term of three years, ending August 31, 1956. The headquarters of the association have been set up at Skepper House, 13, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C. 1.

##### The Association of Research Libraries.

The association has developed a program designed to increase the availability of doctoral dissertations. This has been arranged with the cooperation of University Microfilms of Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons interested may secure a descriptive booklet on the program from the executive secretary, R. A. Miller, Indiana University Library, Bloomington, Indiana.

**The Population Council, Inc.** A new organization has been established, in order to encourage research and education on the relationship of the world's population to its material and cultural resources.

The Population Council, Inc., plans to study the problems of the increasing population of the world, to support research, and to make known the results of such research. It will serve as a center for exchange of facts and information on population questions and cooperate with individuals and institutions having similar interests.

The council does not plan to conduct research or educational activities with its own staff. It has already made a small number of research grants to universities and other established organizations, and has established a number of fellowships for the training of students in the field of population.

The purpose of the fellowship program is to assist students in the social and natural sciences, at the predoctoral and postdoctoral levels, in securing advanced training in the study of population. The council is planning to grant approximately six fellowships (for study in the United States and elsewhere) during the academic year 1954-55, to be divided between students from the United States and students from other countries. Fellows will normally receive support for full-time work for a period of approximately one year. The basic stipend at the rate of \$2,500 per year may be supplemented to provide for maintenance of dependents, and, especially in the case of foreign students, for travel or exceptional expenses. It may be diminished to take account of lesser needs or partial support from other sources. Somewhat larger stipends may be granted to postdoctoral than to predoctoral fellows. Pref-

erence will be given to candidates who are not over forty years of age.

For information or application forms, inquiries should be addressed to Frederick Osborn, executive vice-president of the council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

### CONFERENCES

**The Society for Applied Anthropology.** The annual meeting will be held at Columbia University, New York, April 9-11. Elizabeth Purcell is executive secretary of the society. The mailing address is now: The Society for Applied Anthropology, Box 185, Grand Central Station, New York 17, New York.

**Western Training Laboratory in Group Development.** The third Training Laboratory will be held at Idyllwild, California, August 15-27, 1954. The laboratory is intended to provide understanding and skills for individuals who want to improve their effectiveness in working with groups. Participants with a variety of occupational backgrounds are expected to attend. The training staff will be made up of faculty members from various universities as well as from active group leaders in business, government, industry, public health, education, social welfare, and the like. For information, write to Martin P. Andersen, laboratory administrator, Department of Conference and Special Activities, University Extension, University of California, Los Angeles 24, California.

**Midwest Sociological Society.** The annual meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society will be held in Madison, Wisconsin, April 15-17, 1954, at the Loraine Hotel. There will be a general session on Thursday evening, a luncheon and evening session as well as a full schedule of sectional meetings on Friday, and sectional meetings on Saturday.

The sectional program will be built around contributed papers. The sections tentatively scheduled are the following: Social Disorganization and Crime, Social Psychology, Research Methodology, Marriage and the Family, The Community, Social Structure, The Teaching of Sociology, Population and Human Ecology, and Race and Ethnic Relations. Further information about the meeting may be obtained from the president, William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

Sociologists in the Midwest are invited to attend the meetings and to become members of the Society. Inquiries about

membership should be addressed to the secretary-treasurer, Harold Ennis, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, or to the chairman of the Membership Committee, Marston McCluggage, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

**National Training Laboratory for Group Development (NTLGD).** A three-week summer laboratory session of the NTLGD will be held at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine, from June 20 through July 10, 1954. Information about the conference may be secured from the NTLGD headquarters, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

### PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

**The Journal for Social Research.** This journal is published twice a year by the National Council of Social Research, functioning under the Department of Education, Arts, and Science, New Standard Bank Chambers, Pretoria, South Africa. Its purpose is to stimulate social research by publishing reports of research in the fields of Psychology, Sociology, Social Economics, Social Anthropology, Commerce, Education, Physical Education, Geography, Ethnology, Philology, Law, History, and other related subjects. Articles are published in either Afrikaans or English, and a summary in both languages is presented. The subscription is 10s. per annum.

**Social and Economic Studies.** A new quarterly journal devoted to research in the fields of Economics, Statistics, Sociology, Social Anthropology, Politics, and Government (with special reference to the Caribbean) is being published by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, Jamaica, British West Indies. The subscription rate is \$4.25 per year (volume).

**The Social Science Reporter.** The purpose of this new publication is to provide business executives and management personnel with semi-monthly reports on social research that is significant for industrial management. Material included in the reports is drawn from: (1) professional and scientific journals, (2) interviews with social science researchers, (3) professional meetings and seminars, and (4) doctoral dissertations and master's theses in Social Science. Before publication, each abstract is submitted to the scientist who conducted the research, for approval as to accuracy and fairness of interpretation. Materials that are cited are

cleared for quotation. The editor is Rex F. Harlow, 365 Guinda Street, Palo Alto, California.

#### POLICY ON PUBLISHING OBITUARIES

Obituaries are published in the News Notes and Announcements section of this journal. It is the desire of the editors to print an obituary notice for any member of the Rural Sociological Society who dies. In addition, the journal purposes to include an obituary for any prominent sociologist who was not a member of the society. Out of respect for the deceased sociologist, and in the interest of more effectively serving the reader, the cooperation of members of the society is sought. Members are asked to notify the secretary or the News Notes editor when a colleague dies, in order that editorial

plans may be made for an obituary. The managing editor would also appreciate an opportunity to negotiate for back issues of *Rural Sociology* that may have belonged to deceased members. The society is interested in receiving certain needed back issues as a gift or by purchase from the estate, if there is no prior claim on them by the university, college, or department library of the deceased.

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The 1954 annual meeting of the society will be held at the University of Illinois, September 6 and 7. The society will meet jointly with the American Sociological Society on the Illinois campus, from September 8-10. Ward W. Bauder, professor of rural sociology, University of Illinois, is chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee for the Rural Sociological Society.

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGY JOURNAL 1953

## RECEIPTS

Cash on hand, January 1, 1953.....	\$ 2,217.41
(Held against 1953 subscriptions).....	( 1,539.38)
(Held against subscriptions for 1954 and beyond) .....	( 73.31)
(Other) .....	( 604.72)
From Rural Sociological Society on 1953 business .....	1,793.75
Current subscriptions and sales (1953).....	1,180.73
Advance subscriptions and sales (1954 and beyond) .....	1,696.68
Sales of back issues for Society.....	549.22
Reprint sales .....	392.38
Advertising .....	241.48
Miscellaneous .....	30.00
Annual payment from Rural Sociological Society.....	200.00
Total.....	\$ 8,301.65

## EXPENDITURES

Printing Journal .....	\$ 3,307.25
Engraving and cuts for Journal.....	64.01
Mailing costs—Journal (postage, postage fees, mailing envelopes) ..	249.08
Printing of reprints.....	389.24
Supplies and equipment (letterheads, envelopes, forms, books, etc.) ..	71.08
Postage, managing editor's office.....	125.00
Postage and expense money to other editors.....	78.00
Managing editor's expenses to annual meeting .....	133.99
Other travel and communication (trips and phone calls to printer, etc.) .....	32.95
Purchase of back issues for the Society.....	41.62
Copyright .....	16.00
To Rural Sociological Society for back-issue sales (net sales less 10% for postage and handling, less cost of back issues pur- chased, less 10% for handling of purchases, less direct costs of solicitation of needed back issues).....	433.52
Binding (for managing editor and editor).....	6.40
Personnel wages (part-time secretarial and editorial help) .....	1,134.55
Subscription refunds .....	38.25
Miscellaneous .....	7.31
Total.....	\$ 6,128.15
Cash on hand, December 31, 1953.....	2,173.50
(Less advance sales, 1954).....	( 1,700.36)
(Less advance sales, 1955 and beyond) .....	( 69.63)
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